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ARTICLE I.

LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY OF SOCRATES.

A GREAT portion of human inquiry and speculation pertains necessarily to the past. The present is but a point; the future, though sufficiently revealed to guide our conduct, shrouds under an impenetrable veil all matter of speculation. The past alone presents a broad domain, whose boundaries, indeed, are ever enlarging, but whose objects are unchangeable and certain. The past is the parent of the present. Hence we go to it for lessons of practical wisdom; we seek in it the solution of the thousand social and moral problems which the age presents. Its great deeds and great men we study with especial care, as embodying the characteristics and tendencies of their age; as the hinges on which the fortunes of the world have turned.

Among the great men of the past, warriors and statesmen fill the largest space in the world's eye, and *seem* to have affected most largely the world's destiny. The profound observer judges differently. To him, kings, heroes and politicians act but a subordinate part in human affairs. It is the thinker and writer, who silently infuses into society its most potent elements, whether of good or evil.

The inventor of gun-powder did more to revolutionize society, than the boisterous subverter of an hundred thrones. The discoverer of printing has wrought more powerfully on the world's destiny, than all the conquerors that ever waded through slaughter to glory. But the achievements of phi-

losophy are not solely or chiefly such as become visible in an invention or an art. Its mightiest effects are produced by *ideas*,—ideas unsusceptible of any physical embodiments, and addressing themselves as naked abstractions to our intellectual and moral natures. It is these,—not physical wealth, not the mechanical or fine arts,—it is these, that constitute the heart and core of a genuine circulation. It is these that reach the inner sanctuary of the soul, and rule with most absolute dominion. The true history of man is the history of ideas; the nature of the conceptions of life, liberty, truth and duty, prevalent in any community, is the correct test of its progress in civilization. And the man who has introduced a new stock of valuable ideas to the apprehension of men, invisible though they be, is no less really a benefactor, than he who has invented a steam-engine.

With these principles taken for granted, we make no apology for laying before our readers a sketch of the life and philosophy of Socrates; nor, for assigning to him a high rank among the contributors to the world's advancement. Our learned readers will pardon us, if, neglecting all points of more abstruse speculation, we begin simply at a plain statement of some of the facts which lie on the surface of the subject. We may perhaps hereafter return to it, for the purpose of discussing some of the numerous *Quaestiones Socratae*.

About the middle of the fifth century before Christ, the Grecian states had reached the height of their prosperity and glory. Athens in particular, under the administration of Pericles, shone forth unrivalled in arts, and literature, and arms. The generation was still upon the stage that had witnessed and shared in the achievements of Marathon and Salamis,—the triumph of the youthful patriotism of Athens over the veteran myriads of Persia.

The flush of victory was still warm upon her cheek, and its laurel green upon her brow. For one happy half century, extending from about the year 470 to 430 B. C., her youthful energies were put forth in an uninterrupted series of brilliant military and intellectual achievements. Her navy already commanded the seas, and was pouring into her lap the treasures of distant lands. Her artists under the direction of Phidias wrought the marble of Pentelicus into innumerable forms of beauty and majesty, and statues, tem-

bles, porticos, adorned every street, crowned every hill, and rendered Athens, as it were, a vast treasure-house, and sanctuary of art. Then literature in every form sprang to perfection. The pen of the historian traced in lines more imperishable than the marble, the achievements of the past ; eloquence asserted her power, and, through the lips of Pericles, thundered, lightened, and electrified Greece. Then the drama, that master-work even of Grecian genius, before assembled and enraptured Greece, displayed on the Athenian stage, some of the noblest creations of human intellect.

“ From all the islands far and near,
From Asia’s distant shores they throng ;
And bend down o’er the stage to hear
The chorus chant its awful song.”

Aristides, Cimon, Xenophon, Thucydides, Anaxagoras, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Pericles,—these are some of the names that adorn the annals of that brilliant period. But alas ! the sun that had arisen in such splendor was soon to be shorn of his beams, and to go down in darkness and blood. The period of Athenian political prosperity was as brief as it was glorious. Already the seeds of decay were sown, and the flush of outward prosperity concealed the deadly disease that was gnawing at the heart. Her victories and power begat pride and insolence ; her wealth engendered profligacy and corruption ; and from the year 530, the structure of Athenian glory was manifestly hastening to decay. The Peloponnesian war then broke out, a fierce struggle for supremacy between Sparta and Athens, which lasted twenty-seven years, and involved nearly all Greece in the horrors of a civil war. It terminated in 403, with the surrender of Athens, and the establishment of the Thirty Tyrants. These were soon expelled, and the popular government restored ; but only to pass through another series of convulsions, before it finally sunk under the supremacy of Macedon.

To the list of distinguished personages belonging to the era which has been thus rapidly indicated, may be added—most distinguished of all—the name of **SOCRATES**. He was born about the year 570 B. C., ten years after the defeat of Xerxes at Salamis, just when Pericles was commencing his public career. His youth and early manhood were thus spent in the most flourishing times of the Athenian repub-

lic. He was 38 years old at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, and 65 at its close. He lived four years after, and died at the age of sixty-nine, just fourteen years before the birth of Demosthenes. He was the son of Sophroniscus, an Athenian sculptor, of small fortune, but of honorable condition. He was brought up to the trade of his father ; but his active mind could acquiesce in no such destination ; and instead of chiselling marble into mimic life, he employed his plastic powers in moulding into forms of moral beauty the nobler elements of the human soul. He early turned his attention to studies in philosophy, and seems to have enjoyed all the usual advantages for an Athenian education. In music, gymnastics and grammar, or the study of his native tongue and literature, the common elements of an Athenian education, he had competent instruction. He thus became versed in all the real science of the times ; and, prompted by an ardent desire to know the causes of things, he listened eagerly to those philosophers, real or pretended, whom the love of money or of glory was now attracting to this metropolis of Grecian culture.

With this general view of his early life, we are obliged to be content. Most interesting would it be to trace the successive steps of his intellectual and moral culture ; to see how his ripened and vigorous understanding shook off the trammels of that empty philosophy, whose dazzling exterior and splendid promises had beguiled his inexperienced and enthusiastic youth ; how he trained himself to that keen and searching logic, whose Ithuriel-touch unmasked the gilded deformity of the lying rhetoric of the Sophists ; how he triumphed so completely over unusually strong sensual propensities as to become a model of every virtue ; how, in short, he emerged from the darkness that enveloped him, the brightest luminary on the horizon of Paganism. All this would be most interesting ; but is, alas ! impossible. Xenophon and Plato, who have delineated every feature of his manly character, give few glimpses of the forming process. We know what Socrates *was* ; but how he *became* Socrates, we are unable fully to discover. Whatever were the preparatory steps, we find him at length devoting the whole energies of his vigorous body and powerful and well-trained mind to the work of instructing his countrymen, especially the youth, in the principles of political and moral duty ; en-

deavoring to stem the rising tide of corruption, and restore the Athenian character to its primitive simplicity, temperance and virtue. That we may better appreciate the difficulties which he met, and the services which Socrates rendered both to science and to practical morals, we may be allowed a rapid glance at the character and progress of philosophical speculations before his time.

Philosophy may be said to have had her birth on the soil of Greece. For nearly two centuries before Socrates, from about the year 600, a succession of acute minds had been diligently employed in exploring the latent principles of all phenomena. Among the flourishing Greek colonies of Asia Minor, arose the Ionian school, of which Thales stood at the head. Pursuing, though very imperfectly, the inductive method, they endeavored to ascertain the first principle of things. With Thales, this was *water*; with Anaximenes, *air*; with Heraclitus of Ephesus, and Diogenes of Apollonia, it was *fire*;—the first principle thus gradually advancing from the grosser to the subtler element, and allying itself more and more to the human soul, as an emanation from, and an index of, the universal principle of vitality. All assumed the eternity of matter; while some, adopting the principle that “from nothing, nothing can arise,” held to the eternal existence of all its separate elements, and made their separation and re-combination depend on purely mechanical processes of attraction and repulsion. Thus their philosophy was a blank Atheism. With others, the universe was pervaded by a vital principle, analogous to the human soul,—according to some, intelligent, but according to none, spiritual,—which transformed the original element into the various forms of actual being. With these, the universe was, as it were, a great animal or living being, in which the functions of organic and animal life, of respiration, absorption and nourishment, etc., were perpetually going on. Their philosophy was a blind and gross Pantheism. The last distinguished sage of this school, viz. Anaxagoras, who taught at Athens, a few years after the birth of Socrates, made a considerable advance upon his predecessors. With him, matter was indeed eternal, and lay in a state of chaos, until a *Noûs*, or *mind*, came and reduced it to order. This mind was separate from matter, hence incorporeal and spirit-

ual, a self-acting, pure and mighty, though not almighty, energy. It had no creative power. Its functions are limited to separating, arranging and harmonizing, by means of motion, and in a way purely mechanical, the eternally existing elements of things. Here was a Dualism; mind and matter alike eternal, and matter, though distinct from the intelligence, still pervaded by it, and sustaining to it the relation of the body to the rational soul. It was still Pantheism, though of a somewhat higher grade than the preceding. The speculations of this school on the actual system of things, we have no time to detail. According to Anaximander, the fiery element, disengaging itself from grosser matter, ascends, and forms a hollow sphere of flame about the central mass, until being by its own revolution broken up, its fragments, made and kept round by the pressure of the atmosphere, formed the heavenly bodies.

In the Italian school, founded by Pythagoras, a little later than Thales, philosophy took a direction more mystical and profound. The Pythagorean community cultivated with great success mathematics and music; and the influence of both these sciences was felt in their theories of the universe. They found the original ground of all phenomena in *number* or absolute *unity*, while multiplicity, the root of all evil, developed itself in matter. The world consisted of ten bodies, harmoniously arranged, revolving round the central fire, the sun, producing by their motion that melody known as the music of the spheres. Pythagoras laid down some excellent rules for the conduct of life, and held, it would seem, to a future retribution.

The Eleatic school, with Xenophanes at its head, abandoned more completely the path of experience for a philosophy purely ideal. The testimony of sense was contemptuously rejected, the reality of sensible phenomena denied, and God and the universe absolutely identified. The fame of some of the distinguished disciples of this school rests entirely on their elaborate *a priori* arguments against the possibility of motion. "God," said Xenophanes, meaning thereby the universe, "is neither movable nor immovable, neither finite nor infinite; he is all sight and all hearing, and his form is spherical."

Such is a glance at some of the leading features of the Greek ante-socratic philosophy. Such absurdities, at which

we hardly know whether to laugh or weep, palmed themselves off on some of the noblest intellects of Greece, as the highest wisdom. The domain of physics was invaded by wild speculation and daring conjecture, and the domain of morals was scarcely entered at all. It lay an uncultivated waste. Meantime, the moral effect of the subtle disputes of rival sects lies open to the day. A universal skepticism in regard to truth, and a reckless levity of opinion, could not but be generated, and sow the seed for that harvest of Sophists, which, about the time of Socrates, had sprung up and seemed about to choke every plant of genuine wisdom and virtue.

If we were called upon to name a body of men deserving most unmixed detestation, we should perhaps select that race, who, under the name of Sophists, had at this time flocked to Athens from different quarters of Greece. With a Belial-like eloquence, specious but hollow, which consisted wholly in giving to ignorance the semblance of knowledge, and to falsehood the show of truth, in making the “worse appear the better reason,” they set themselves up as the professors and teachers of universal wisdom. No matter what the age or incapacity of the pupil; they undertook, provided the fee were sufficiently large, to make him master, in an incredibly short time, of all needful knowledge, and to enable him to discourse fluently on every subject. That the senses are the sole criteria of knowledge, that therefore every thing is what it *seems* to be, and that truth and falsehood are relative and not absolute terms; that what is truth to me is falsehood to my neighbor, and the converse; that the great ends of life are wealth, power and pleasure; that injustice is often to be preferred to justice, because it furnishes ampler means of comparing these ends:—such were some of the detestable doctrines, which, tricked out in a dazzling and wordy rhetoric, whose professed aim was display, now courted the attention and corrupted the morals of the ingenuous youth of Athens.

Such were the public teachers of Athens, when Socrates appeared. Such was the course through which philosophical speculations ran, and such was its disastrous close. Beginning in dogmatism, it ended in skepticism; after careering over the universe to gather food for its sustenance, it was absolutely perishing from inanition. It was literally dying out, all its earlier blossoms had withered, and its semblance

of fruit might indeed be fair to the eye, but “turned to ashes on the lips.” Surely a reformer was needed ; and yet the predestined reformer had been himself a victim of the evils which his strong arm was yet to sweep away. Dazzled by the glare of that false science which promised every thing and performed nothing, he had plunged with youthful ardor into its labyrinth of endless speculation. But his efforts were fruitless ; and, finding that instead of solving the mysteries of nature, he was involving in perplexity even the plainest truths, he at length discarded these fruitless inquiries for the more homely subjects of duty and virtue. Here is the first grand service rendered by Socrates to philosophy. He brought her down from heaven to earth,—he domesticated in the home of men her who had hitherto moved among the clouds ; he gave her a strong practical direction, and made her conversant with those subjects of moral truth and duty which she had hitherto contemptuously overlooked.

Socrates, indeed, made none of the ordinary pretensions to philosophy. He opened no schools, he had no stated times or places of instruction ; the gymnasium, the market-place, the street, or the saddler’s-shop, any place where he could find ears to listen, and minds to appreciate, answered for his discourses. In person, almost grotesquely ugly, he adhered rigidly in his diet to the simplicity of primitive times. Like the earlier Greeks, he uniformly went bare-footed, and wore the same cloak both in summer and winter. He held his appetites under the most absolute control, came to his meals with a healthy appetite, generated by exercise ; and at the most sumptuous banquets, exercised, apparently without effort, a self-control which to most men is impossible. Linked by marriage to a woman of sharp temper and sharper tongue, he made the connection a school of discipline ; bore her storms of reproach with the most provoking equanimity ; and when she emptied her water-pail on his head, merely remarked, “that rain was always to be expected after thunder.”

The limits of our article will allow but a notice of some of the more prominent doctrines taught by Socrates. He began by sweeping away at once all the speculations of his predecessors in physics, likening them to the incoherent ravings of madmen, and asserting that they yielded no truth, and if truth, no utility. Right and wrong, virtue and vice,

the nature of a state, and the qualities of a citizen and a statesman,—these were the subjects which he delighted to unfold, at once in their scientific character and practical relation. Socrates was no mere retailer of isolated, however important truths. He aimed to grasp their elementary principles, and thus to give organic unity and completeness to his system. He was, in the true sense of the term, a philosopher.

As the basis of his moral teaching, he laid the doctrine of a Supreme Upholder and Moral Governor of the universe, and of a general superintending providence. His arguments on these subjects contain the germ of whatever is most excellent in Paley. He held the Deity to be a pure, spiritual, uncreated essence, omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient, who having instituted the present order of things, pervades and sustains it with unseen but ceaseless agency. In this respect, says Xenophon, the opinions of Socrates differed from those of men in general, for they hold that the gods know some things, and are ignorant of others; but he held that the gods knew every thing, alike what is done, said, and thought, are every where present, and make intimations to men concerning the future. In proof of his doctrine, he pointed to the evidences of benevolent design, with which the works of nature are fraught; as for instance, in man the skilful adaptation of the several parts of the system to their respective uses. "Mark," said he, "the eyes and ears, by which we see and hear, the nostrils by which we perceive odors, and the tongue, and palate, by which we discriminate all the varieties of taste. Observe particularly the eye, how, since the sight is weak, it is guarded with eyelids, like doors, which open when it is to be used, and close in sleep; how it is furnished with eye-lashes, that the winds may not harm it, and eaved over with eye-brows, that the sweat from the forehead may not run into it. Mark the front teeth in all animals, formed to cut, and the back teeth to masticate the food. Can we doubt whether these and numberless similar contrivances are the result of chance or design? Do they not indicate an author, at once wise and benevolent?" To the objection, that we do not see this author as we see human agents, he replies, "True, but neither do you see your own soul; but you infer its existence from its acts, and many even of the ministers of the Deity are invisible. The winds sweep over the earth, and we perceive their effects,

but see not them. The thunder-bolt strikes its object with resistless power, but is seen neither in coming nor departing ; even the sun, that shines on all, strikes with blindness such as gaze too steadily on his beams. So the Deity, while he upholds the universe, and preserves it undecaying, undeviating, and moving swifter than thought, accomplishes indeed the mightiest works, yet remains himself invisible."

But, replies the objector, I do not despise the Divinity, but consider him elevated beyond the need of my service. "Nay," answered Socrates, "the more exalted he is and yet deigns to serve you, the stronger your obligation to serve him. And if you doubt the care of the gods for man, look farther. They have made him such that he can both look forward and above, and guard against dangers. While to other animals they have given only feet, they have bestowed on him hands, his instruments for working out whatever contributes to his comfort and superiority. And although all animals have a tongue, that of man alone is made capable of uttering articulate sounds, and thus interchanging thought. Man, too, alone possesses a rational soul, capable of apprehending the existence of the gods, and of rendering them homage. Look at man's infinite superiority to the brute. The mind of a man joined with the body of an ox, could execute none of its purposes ; and hands, without reason, would be equally impotent. But the union of a human body with a rational soul, stamps him as it were with the impress of divinity. And reflect," he continues, "your mind, dwelling in your body, manages it as it will ; does not the intelligence that pervades the universe dispose all things at its pleasure ? Your eye can reach over many stadia ; cannot the eye of God see at once all things ? Your mind contemplates at the same time things here, in Egypt, and in Sicily ; cannot the Divine Intelligence at once care for all things ? By rendering kindness to men, you ascertain who will render kindness in turn ; by consulting men, you know who are skilled in counsel. So serve and ask counsel of the gods, and you will find that the Divinity is such as at once to see all things, to hear all things, to be every where present, to have a care of all things." "By inculcating such doctrine," adds Xenophon, "he influenced his disciples to refrain from acts of injustice and impiety, not only before men, but when alone, feeling assured that none of their actions escape the notice of the gods."

In the same spirit, Socrates follows out the argument in favor of the goodness and providence of God, especially in relation to man. He has provided light, without which, notwithstanding our eyes, we should still be blind. He gives us the night, as a most excellent season for repose; yet relieves its darkness by the stars. The sun measures the hours of the day, and the moon marks the divisions of the night and of the month. Food is essential to our subsistence, and it is furnished in abundance from the earth. Equal proof is seen of the beneficence of providence in the abundance of fire, the mother of the arts, of air and water; in the changes of the seasons, and in the course of the sun, whose movements are so adjusted that he never approaches so near as to scorch by his heat, nor recedes so far as to leave us stiffened by cold; while we are subjected to no sudden shock, but find ourselves, by a gradual change, placed imperceptibly at either extreme.

Such are the views held by Socrates as to the existence, attributes and providence of God. It is observable that he sometimes employs the singular, and sometimes the plural, form. It is probable, that while he held to the existence of one Supreme Intelligence, he believed in many subordinate divinities. His use of the plural may, however, have been merely an accommodation to the notions of the people.

From the above, we might easily infer what were Socrates's views of the nature of worship. This was due to the gods, alike from their intrinsic excellence, from gratitude for their benefits, and from the feeling of religious reverence which they had implanted in the human breast. Worship is partly outward, partly internal. As to outward worship, Socrates followed the law of the state, and held this to be a rule universally binding. Thus, no matter how degrading and idolatrous its rites; no matter to what pestilent and lascivious deities it might enjoin homage;—all its ordinances were to be strictly observed; and Socrates himself habitually sacrificed on the altars of the state. Strange inconsistency!—that he who held such exalted ideas of a God, which should have uprooted the whole system of idolatrous worship, could lend his full support to its worst abominations!

Still, the highest element of worship was spiritual. Its true value lay in the heart of the worshipper. Hence the smaller sacrifices—the two mites of the poor—were no less

acceptable to God than the larger offerings of the rich. The costliest sacrifices of the profligate were worthless ; the smallest gifts of the virtuous were a grateful incense. His sentiment is perfectly expressed in the lines of Heber :

“ Vainly we offer each costly oblation,
Vainly with gold would his favor secure ;
Richer by far is the heart’s adoration,
Dearer to God are the prayers of the poor.”

True worship, then, consisted in a sincere love and uniform practice of virtue ; not in outward acts of splendor, but in a life conformed to the will of God. Thus Socrates himself ever acted, and he would no more be persuaded to act contrary to the divine will, clearly indicated, than to choose for a journey a guide who was blind and ignorant of the way. With him, the only true good was wisdom and virtue. Wealth, power, beauty, rank, all the adventitious distinctions of fortune, he held to be entirely indifferent, good or evil according only to the use made of them, and no more to be prayed for than a game of chance, a tempest, or a battle. His own habitual prayer was simply that God would give good things, leaving what was good to be decided by the All-knowing.

The Greeks had become at this time generally skeptical as to the immortality of the soul. To this doctrine, Socrates held with firm conviction. It stood connected in his mind with the belief of a moral Ruler and Judge, and the necessity of a future retribution to clear up the mysteries of life, and render impartial justice to the virtuous and wicked. He also sought to establish this doctrine on rational grounds. Consciousness taught the existence of a soul, and its essential difference from the body. He could see no ground for supposing it was extinguished with the dissolution of its material frame-work. He argued rather that the soul, which is capable of giving life even to senseless matter, must, when free from its connection with matter, arise to a nobler life and higher intelligence.

On such convictions of divine providence, of moral government, of immortality and retribution, Socrates built his system of morals. “ If,” said he, “ we would deserve the favor of the All-seeing Power that delights only in goodness, if we would be happy both here and hereafter, we must live purely, temperately, justly, and seek virtue more than riches,

honor, or any other good. We must shun crime more than death, and sacrifice even life to fulfil the will of the gods. The virtuous man alone can meet death with joy ; for he cherishes the conviction that he shall not die, but go away into happier abodes. The wicked, on the contrary, cannot, on approaching death, console himself with the dreary hope of annihilation. The terrors of his impending doom already seize upon him. He is not only to be stripped of all joy, but to become the prey of all evils. Yet even aside from an hereafter, virtue is essentially connected with happiness, and vice with misery." "Socrates," says Cicero, "restored the beautiful bond between virtue and happiness which the Sophists had broken, and execrated as traitors to the human race those who would sunder the heavenly sisters, *utility* and *right*." The two grand divisions of virtue were temperance and justice ; the former relating chiefly to individual, the latter to social, man. By temperance, Socrates understood not merely moderation in eating and drinking, but a control over all the inordinate passions, as pride, avarice and ambition. It involves temperance in the narrower sense,—sobriety, modesty, ability to endure cold, hunger, thirst, and a proper contempt of what the world esteems good. On these subjects, the growing degeneracy of the times made it necessary to insist ; and no where, perhaps, aside from the Christian revelation, are temperance, sobriety and self-denial enforced by more cogent arguments than in the teachings of Socrates. He holds the subject up in the most varied lights. He tears off the mask that disguised the deformity of what men call pleasure. He shows her as a withered hag, tricked out in the decorations of a harlot ; as a syren, luring to their destruction the inexperienced and unwary ; as a Circe, whose drugged and poisonous cup transformed men into swine. Luring them into her service by promises of pleasure, she corrupts them in body and soul, plunges them into the most absolute servitude, speedily exhausts all her resources of enjoyment, and subjects them, after a youth consumed in folly, to a manhood of imbecility and remorse, to an old age of shame and despair. "Only the temperate man," said Socrates, "has a true enjoyment even of the pleasures of sense ; for he restrains his desire of food and drink, until its gratification is attended with a keen relish. He has no occasion for far-fetched and costly dainties to

stimulate a sated appetite, or rich carpets to refresh his weary limbs. Nature spreads his table, and her pleasures leave no sting. But the temperate man enjoys still nobler gratifications, such as are undreamed of by the votary of sensuality. His bodily and mental soundness and vigor enable him to pursue with success all his plans of business. Still higher is the satisfaction flowing from the consciousness that his character is improving; that he is advancing in moral perfection, and promoting the happiness of his friends and the welfare of his country. The conquest of his passions, the noblest of victories, is itself a delight unknown to the sensualist. Such a man lives in a round of ever-growing enjoyment. Life is a perpetual feast of nectared sweets. He is loved by his family and friends, honored by his country, and smiled on by the gods. His youth is animated by the praises of the old; his age cheered by the reverence of the young. He dwells with delight on the past, and looks to the future with hope and confidence. His death is harassed by no fears of punishment in the next world, and infamy and oblivion in this. He goes away to the society of the gods and good men, and his memory lives in the hearts and songs of men to the latest generation."

Thus glowingly and rapturously does Socrates dwell on the excellence and reward of virtue; thus, as well as by his example, does he commend her to the regard of the Athenian youth. In his own conduct, he was a pattern of heathen virtue. Patience under wrongs, integrity unassailable by bribes or threats, a high-minded contempt of riches, power, danger, and death, an unwearied devotion to the interests of his friends and country, are some of his marked traits of character. We said, heathen virtue; for he wanted the Christian element of love to God, and of that love to man which is its fruit. Indeed, it is worthy of notice that Socrates no where enjoins love to God. Gratitude, homage, service, are abundantly inculcated; but the endearing and tender relation which makes the Infinite Spirit an object of love to mortals, never entered the conception of heathenism. The recognizing of this is the high prerogative of Christianity; and this one principle exalts her as far above the purest forms of Paganism, as the Christian's heaven is superior to the heathen Elysium. "Love your enemies," is the sublime precept of the Bible. Do good to your friends,

and evil to your enemies, is the heathen doctrine recognized, in many forms, even by Socrates. Tried by the standard of Christian ethics, Socrates is greatly wanting. Tried by that of Paganism, how resplendent his character! How does he stand forth, the moral prodigy of his age, as if to show how near human reason and virtue could come—or rather how far short they fall—of bridging over the impassable gulf, across which our tottering steps are led by the guiding hand of Revelation.

The life of such a man was a standing rebuke to the degenerate Athenians. Add to this, the close and severe questioning—the faithful probing of all his moral weaknesses—the full unmasking of himself to himself, which awaited every one who came within reach of Socrates, and no wonder, that, except with the congenial and appreciating few, he was admired rather than beloved; that the terrors of his reproving tongue made him dreaded as a sort of Inquisitor-general; and that, finally, in a state where it was a crime to be too virtuous—where Aristides was ostracised because they were weary of hearing him called ‘the Just,’ Socrates should share a kindred fate. In his sixty-ninth year, he was arraigned on the charge of corrupting the youth, and substituting other divinities for those recognized by the state. Corrupting the youth! Bad as human nature is, the matchless effrontery of such a charge is almost incredible! That a man whose life had been an exemplification of the noblest virtues, who had done more than all other living men to repress the growing vices of the age, should be gravely impeached for corrupting the youth, was a burlesque on all the forms of justice, and would have been a farce to awaken laughter, had it not proved a tragedy to awaken tears.

Before the judges, Socrates manifested the fearless independence which had ever characterized his conduct. He explained the causes of the enmity which he had incurred. He declared that it sprung from his faithfulness in executing the commission of Apollo, viz., to detect the false professors of wisdom, and, by all possible arguments, urge his countrymen to virtue. “To this service,” said he, “the Deity has called me; this is my post, which I must not abandon; and should you, Athenians, now acquit me on condition of my ceasing to persuade men to virtue, I should reply, that while I greatly respect your authority and value your friendship,

yet I must obey God rather than you ; and therefore, while life and health remain, I shall continue my efforts to turn my countrymen from the pursuits of wealth and pleasure to the care of their souls—their true possession. Such is my commission ; and the service assigned me is, I am persuaded, most salutary to you. I plead not for myself, Athenians. If you slay me, you injure yourselves, not me. My accusers can do me no harm ; for the gods will never suffer a better man to be injured by a worse. I may, indeed, be banished or put to death, which they may regard as evils. I do not. But he who strives by injustice to compass the death of another, inflicts on his own soul an irreparable injury. I plead, then, for you,—for in slaying me, you deprive yourselves of a benefactor whose loss you cannot supply.”

Socrates was pronounced guilty by a small majority. According to the usage of Athenian law, he then had the privilege of naming the punishment of which he considered himself deserving. To name any punishment would have been a virtual admission of guilt. He accordingly adjudged himself worthy of being feasted at the public expense in the Prytaneum. This was too galling ; and his irritated judges immediately condemned him to death, by a majority of eighty-seven. The sentence being pronounced, Socrates resumed his discourse. He declared that being now, as on the eve of death, gifted with prophetic vision, he saw impending and fearful retribution awaiting those who had so iniquitously accused and condemned him. He repeated his conviction that death was no evil. “For either,” said he, “I shall cease to exist and feel ; and then how sweet, after the toils of life, the dreamless and unawakening slumber of the grave, —or, death will be but a removal to another state of being. And what can be more delightful than to join the assembly of the illustrious dead ; to exchange the venal judges of earth for Æacus and Rhadamanthus, the righteous judges of Hades ; to meet with Musæus, and Orpheus, and Hesiod, and Homer, to meet with the sages and heroes of all past times ; and, in delightful intercourse with them, to spend a blissful immortality ? And you who sought my acquittal, cherish no undue anxiety about my fate. Reflect that no evil can befall a good man, whether he lives or dies, and his interests are never neglected by the gods. My present fortune is not the fruit of chance. I know, by many indica-

tions, that it was now best for me to die, and to be withdrawn from human affairs. The Deity has the ordering of all ; and though my judges intended it for evil, yet I feel no resentment toward them, or my accusers. But it is time for us to depart,—you, to life, and I, to death ; but which of us has the better lot is known only to the gods.”

In consequence of a public festival which commenced the day before the trial, and during which it was unlawful to put any one to death, the execution of the sentence was deferred about thirty days. This interval Socrates spent in prison, generally conversing with his numerous friends and disciples, who were allowed access to him. Some of his wealthy disciples bribed the jailer, and made all necessary arrangements for his escape. Yet this he steadily refused, constantly affirming that death was no evil, that to prolong his life by flight would be dishonorable in an old man, and, finally, that it was unjust to trample even on those laws that had unjustly condemned him. The day at length arrived which closed the festival, and called Socrates to drink the hemlock. On that day, his friends repaired to his prison at an early hour, that they might improve to the utmost the few remaining hours of his stay. The conversation turned upon the soul, its nature, immortality, and destiny. Socrates maintained that to the true philosopher death must ever be welcome, as alone gratifying his aspirations after truth. For here the soul is in a thousand ways ensnared and deluded by the senses. Much time is consumed in supplying the necessities, and more in gratifying the inordinate appetites, of the body. Sickness and pain often hinder the contemplation of truth. Hence if the attainment of truth is the grand aim of the philosopher, if for this he struggles even in the present life to free his soul from the dominion of the senses, he must surely hail the hour that brings him full deliverance ; which frees the spirit from its material clog, and enables it to soar away, where amid kindred intelligences, it may revel amid the bright and imperishable forms of truth.

At length the day drew to a close ; the sun was just setting, and the hour for drinking the poison was at hand. “Come,” said Socrates, “fate calls me, to use a tragic phrase ; let me betake myself to the bath, and not leave to the servants the trouble of washing a corse.” “And what,” replied Crito, one of his most devoted disciples, “are your

final commands? What can we do that will most gratify you?" "I have no new instructions," replied Socrates. "By assiduously training your souls to wisdom and virtue, you will abundantly gratify me without any present promises; and by neglecting to walk as in the footsteps of my former precepts, you will nullify the force of a thousand promises." "We will strive," rejoined Crito, "to obey your directions; but tell us how we shall bury you." "Just as you please," replied Socrates; "that is, if you can catch me and I do not escape your hands." Then turning to the rest, with a smile, he said, "I cannot persuade Crito that this Socrates who now discourses with you is *I*; but he thinks *that* to be me, which he will presently see lying before him a corpse. And all my long argument to prove that on drinking the poison I shall go away to happier regions, seems to have been thrown away upon him. When I was summoned before the judges, Crito stood surety to them for my appearance; do you, therefore, now stand surety to him for my *non-appearance*, that Crito may bear it less hardly, and may not say, as he sees my body either burned or buried, that he is laying out or interring Socrates. But cheer up, my good Crito; say that you are burying my body, and bury that just as you deem most conformable to usage." Socrates having now bathed himself, and given his final instructions to his household, the servants of the Eleven came to him, and announced to him the will of the magistrates that he should drink the poison. He immediately requested that the poison might be prepared. "But," replied Crito, "you need not hasten; the sun is still upon the mountains; and I have known many, after the order was issued, delay drinking to a late hour, and indulge themselves in revelry and pleasure." "Very naturally," replied Socrates, "for they conceive themselves gainers by this. With equal propriety I shall do otherwise; for I should gain nothing but self-contempt, by eagerly holding on to a remnant of life." Crito then beckoned to the boy who stood near, who went out and presently returned with a man who bore the poison prepared in a cup. "Well," said Socrates, looking at the man, "you are experienced in these matters; what is it necessary for me to do?" "Nothing," replied the man, "except to walk about until your legs become weary, and then to lie down, and the poison will do its own work." With this he reached the cup to Socrates,

who took it, and with a cheerful tone, with no change in his voice or countenance, asked whether he might use a part of the portion for a libation. The man replied that he had prepared only enough for a moderate draught. "Well, then, it is at least right to pray that my departure hence may be a happy one; and such I earnestly pray that it may prove." Saying this, he put the cup to his lips, and unhesitatingly and cheerfully drank it off. "Up to this time," continues the narrator, "most of us had been able to restrain our tears. But we could do so no longer. Spite of myself, my tears gushed forth, and I covered up my face and wept. For I lamented not him, but my own loss in losing such a friend and counsellor. But Crito, even before me, unable to repress his grief, had arisen and left the room; and Apollodorus, who had been the whole time in tears, now burst out into loud wailings, which unmanned every one but Socrates. But he said, 'My dear friends, what are you doing? To avoid a scene like this, I dismissed the women. I entreat you to control yourselves.' Mortified by this rebuke, we restrained our tears. But Socrates, having walked about until he said his limbs were weary, lay down upon his back as directed. After a little time, the man who gave him the poison examined his feet and hands, and pressing his foot, asked him if he felt it. He replied that he did not. He then, in like manner, pressed his knees; and feeling of his limbs, showed us they were cold and stiff. And Socrates himself touched his own limbs, and said that the coldness would soon reach his heart; and then, said he, I shall go away. And now his vital parts becoming cold, he uncovered his head, and said to Crito, 'Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius. I entreat you to see it offered.' Beautiful words, rightly understood! 'Let us sacrifice to the God of health. The long disease of life is over. Death, the great physician, is applying an efficacious remedy, and my disenthralled spirit will soon exult in an entire exemption from the ills that flesh is heir to.' 'It shall be done,' said Crito; 'but see whether you have any further commands.' To this Socrates made no reply; and in a little time, the man arose and uncovered him. His eyes were fixed, and the stillness of death lay upon his countenance. Crito immediately closed his eyes and mouth."

To estimate fully the character of Socrates requires an

intimate knowledge of the state of society which had sprung up in this extraordinary community, among whom he lived and died. Socrates was a Greek. His virtues were the virtues of a Greek. His defects were the defects of his countrymen. Perhaps nothing in his character strikes us more obviously than those acute powers and close habits of observation, that healthy and robust good sense, together with a keen and ready wit, to all which one of the best parallels is found in our own Franklin. Yet with perhaps a subtler wit, with no less zeal for the welfare of others, Socrates united a subtlety in speculation, a depth and amplitude of mind, to which the American sage could make no pretension. It must, we fear, be added, that in loftiness of aims, in religiousness of spirit, the advantage lay wholly on the side of the Athenian. When we look at the purity and elevation of his views, at his inflexible adherence to them through a long life of poverty and obloquy, yet of indefatigable usefulness,—when we see him, in his intercourse with the Sophists, unmasking their ignorance and baseness; in his intercourse with his disciples, teaching, rebuking, exhorting, affectionately and unweariedly, and anxious only to confine their wavering steps in the paths of wisdom and virtue,—when, finally, we follow him to the closing scene, and witness the magnanimity displayed at his trial, and the serenity and almost Christian triumph of his death among his weeping and disconsolate disciples,—our bosoms swell within us, we have no words to give utterance to our emotions,—we are ready to join the invocation of Erasmus, “*Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis!*”

Indeed, looking at the position of Socrates, we can scarcely resist the conviction, that, as he himself believed, he actually enjoyed the inspiration of the Deity. How else can we explain that sudden and mighty bound, by which, like the horses of the gods in Homer, he threw himself at once beyond the horizon of his contemporaries? Other heathen may perhaps have been as virtuous as he; but who threw so strong and clear a light upon the great mysteries of human destiny? Others borrowed from him; but he shone in the Grecian firmament as a star diffusing its own original lustre. He, first among the Greeks, traced the origin, and enforced the claims, of virtue, with a clearness and cogency scarcely exceeded by any thing in our present systems of Natural Religion. Thus Socrates effected a reform in phi-

losophy. By the unaided efforts of his powerful mind and character, he arrested and changed the current of speculation. Philosophy, that had been withered under the barren physics of the Ionian school, and blasted at the heart by the poisonous breath of the Sophists, awoke to fresh life and vigor, and felt the warm current of his high moral teachings circulating through all the veins of her system. Greek philosophy suddenly sprung to a new and nobler life. It not only recovered from the palsying influence of the Sophists, but displayed a depth, a range, a matured power, which had been wholly unknown to its most flourishing youth. Subjects before almost utterly neglected, became leading topics of discussion in all the schools of Greek philosophy ; so that, as Cicero very justly remarks, none henceforth pretended to the name of a philosopher, who did not devote a portion of his energies to the discussion of moral questions. Socrates is, in fact, the father of Grecian philosophy ; and as such, the father of philosophy. What Homer was in epic poetry, what Herodotus was in history, that was Socrates in philosophy. With him she enters on a new era. All the great succeeding schools of Greek learning were merely off-schools from the Socratic stock. All recognized him as their master. His spirit pervaded the academy, the lyceum, and the porch ; and, for whatever is most beautiful and profound in the moral teachings of heathen antiquity, we are indebted largely to the influence of Socrates. To him we owe the rugged yet noble morality of Zeno ; to him, the ethics of Aristotle and the offices of Tully : and above all, it was the wings of his doctrines that bore up the magnificent flight of Plato. Xenophon was a devoted, almost an idolatrous, admirer of Socrates ; but his comparatively feeble intellect apprehended but partially the teachings of his master. The mantle of the great pagan prophet fell upon Plato. His congenial soul could thoroughly appreciate the sentiments of the great reformer, and on his page they shine out with their original brightness and purity, though blended with much speculation, which Socrates himself would undoubtedly have disapproved and condemned.

How rich a banquet is spread before the student of Grecian literature ! When he has careered over the ever-varied and ever-fascinating page of the “myriad-minded” Homer, when he has been ravished by the majestic and beautiful creations

of Sophocles, or borne on by the impetuous torrent of Demosthenian eloquence, then—at the dead of night, when the silent stars are looking out from the blue depths of the firmament, and while the embers of his faded fire are faintly glowing on the hearth—then, let him unsphere the spirit of Plato, and hold rapt communion with that mighty master of eloquence and truth! What forms of unearthly loveliness will flit before his mental eye! What visions of sublimity will crowd upon his imagination! What voices of heavenly sweetness will pour upon his ravished ear their gushing tide of melody! What sublime views of truth, what generous aspirations after virtue, will kindle and dilate his soul! Now he will seem to be holding familiar and delighted intercourse with one of the most childlike and playful spirits of earth; now borne away, as “on the seraph wings of extacy,” high up into realms where shine, in sunlike brightness, the immortal forms of truth! How refreshing to him who believes that virtue has an independent existence, and is not a mere synonym for utility, to turn away from the degrading Jeremy-Benthamism of much of our modern philosophy, to those noble spirits that bowed in instinctive and reverential homage at her shrine!

In fine, what value shall we attach to the Socratic philosophy, among the agencies of human culture? What rank assign to its author among the benefactors of our race? His high place among the intellectual great men of earth, none can dispute. As Bacon is the father of modern inductive science, so Socrates is the father of ancient speculative philosophy—a philosophy, which, in its several branches, ruled for many centuries the mightiest intellects of the earth. But what shall we say of its utility? Has it contributed to the stock of human virtue and happiness, or were its achievements as barren as they were brilliant? Such is the opinion of some, but it is not ours; and nothing, we believe, but the grossest utilitarianism can sanction such a decision. If, indeed, truth has no value except as it promotes physical comfort and heaps up material wealth, then Socrates is to be placed immeasurably below Bacon in the list of the world’s benefactors. Modern experimental science has marked her path by numberless contributions to the physical well-being of man. Its benefits are palpable to sense. They can be seen and handled. They put food into our

stomachs, and money into our purses. Not so with the philosophy, of which Socrates stands at the head. It entered rarely into the sphere of men's bodily wants. It consisted mainly in doctrines addressed to his speculative and moral nature. Hence it constructed no rail-roads, power-looms, and spinning-jennies ; but was it therefore necessarily useless ? Nay, was it even less useful than its comfort-loving and comfort-giving sister ? Modern science is developed under the fostering influence of Christianity. Take away her beneficent and purifying spirit, and then strike the balance between Socrates and Bacon,—between the doctrines which cared chiefly for the soul and the doctrines which cared chiefly for the body. Christianity could dispense with both. She imparts higher elements of moral culture than were ever dreamed of by Socrates ; and she would have given at once a mighty impulse and a practical direction to science, had Bacon never lived. But look at their respective teachings, either as handmaids to the teachings of the Bible, or as substitutes for them ; for ourselves, we feel constrained to give the preference to the Athenian. True, his philosophy, as all pagan philosophy must, failed of making good its high pretensions. It could not strike deep enough to reach the root of man's moral disease ; it could not therefore arrest the downward tendencies of society.

But it could and did throw a rich splendor over the ancient civilization. It gave to thousands of minds the highest employment which paganism could afford. It aided thousands in attaining a lofty pitch of pagan virtue. It opened the riches and sources which were inaccessible, of enjoyment, and consolation under affliction. It inspired profounder views of human nature and human responsibility. Look at the noble productions to which it gave birth, in the writings of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, not to mention many of less note, all of which flowed directly from the well-head of the Socratic philosophy, and which constitute the most precious portions of ancient literature. Consider the influence of these works on society ; what depth they imparted to the moral life of antiquity ; what elements of higher culture they infused into the heart of society ; consider all this, and you will despise the narrow utilitarianism that would account it as valueless, because it did not invent a telescope, or construct an easy-chair for a gouty alderman. Much as

Platonism may have harmed Christianity, the very ease with which it blended with it showed that it had reached some of the deepest springs of religious culture. Many heathen, after the introduction of Christianity, endeavored to suppress Cicero's treatise on the Nature of the Gods, from the strong support which it lent to the Christian argument.

Yet, finally, it cannot be denied, that one of the great benefits of the Socratic philosophy, has been the light which it has shed upon the impotence of the human intellect, and the necessity of Revelation. For centuries, some of the noblest minds of the earth were struggling to solve the problem of human destiny. Assuredly the force of reason can go no farther than it went in Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and Cicero. If human reason could pierce the depths of the spirit world, and unfold its awful and inscrutable mysteries, these men would have done it. Ever and anon they seem just hovering on the verge of the fields of light; just about to reach the goal of their high aspirations; when suddenly the scene is changed, and

“Shadows, clouds and darkness rest upon it.”

Even the last words of the dying Socrates, so sublimely indicative of his belief that the fever of life was over, and he was just awaking to spiritual health and soundness, yet show that his noble soul was still the victim of a degrading polytheism. Disguise the fact as we may, Socrates, Plato and Cicero were idolaters. They believed in worshipping “gods many;” they believed in war; they believed in requiting our enemies with injury; and above all, they believed that a life of such imperfect virtue as poor frail man can attain, would entitle him to the joys of heaven, and the favor of the gods. What then can reason effect? It can indeed effect much; it can accomplish all but impossibilities. It explores the wonders, and subjugates the powers of nature. It

“Rides on the volleyed lightnings through the heavens;
Or yoked with whirlwinds on the northern blast
Sweeps the long track of day.”
It looks “abroad through nature to the range
Of planets, suns and adamantine spheres,
Wheeling unbroken through the void immense;”

and traces the laws which bind them to their orbits, and propel them on their everlasting courses. Nay, it ascends

from nature to her God, and infers the existence of a supreme, all-pervading and beneficent Intelligence. But it cannot trace out his moral perfections. It can apprehend neither his purity nor his love. It cannot purify the fountain of man's moral corruption ; it cannot even demonstrate his immortality ; and the soul leaves the body, uncertain whether it is "to flourish in immortal youth," or whether, at the dissolution of its material habitation, its heaven-lighted spark be quenched in an endless night. Revelation comes, and how changed the scene ! Earth is but the footstool of God. Life is but the dawn of a day that has no evening and no noon ; and whose sun, though he may set on the horizon of time, yet

Relights his beams and with new spangled ore
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky,

on the horizon of eternity. The character of God, the nature and extent of our moral ruin, and the means of deliverance, the nature and rewards of virtue are depicted, as with a pencil dipped in light, on the page of revelation. And when, doubtful and despairing in regard to the fact or the nature of the soul's future existence, we turn to the tomb of Lazarus and the cross of Calvary, we behold "life and immortality brought to light in the gospel." "Socrates died like a philosopher, but Jesus Christ died like a God."

A. C. K.

ARTICLE II.

LIFE OF LORD ELDON.

BY THE EDITOR.

The Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon, with Selections from his Correspondence. By HORACE TWISS, Esq. In two volumes 8vo. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart. 1844.

THESE volumes will be particularly interesting to gentlemen of the legal profession. They contain a record of the life of a man, who, from comparative obscurity, rose to the highest eminence. By the force of moderate talents, joined

with prudence, industry, and untiring application, he proceeded through the successive grades of honor and office, till he stood on the topmost round of the ladder of power, and maintained, for nearly a quarter of a century, a position in which he was second only to the king. The materials for the biography were most ample. Recollections and notes of Lord Eldon's life were furnished by many of his relatives, who admired and reverenced him to such a degree that they preserved every thing pertaining to his life and character, with almost Boswellian scrupulosity. Besides this, he left a voluminous correspondence; upwards of two thousand letters were examined in the preparation of the present work. In addition to this, Lord Eldon wrote, in his later years, for the gratification of his grandson, a volume which was entitled "the Book of Anecdotes." Many of the anecdotes and observations from this volume are interspersed with the graver details of the work, rendering it highly entertaining, and often instructive. The cabinet history and parliamentary records, as well as the law-reports of the period in which he flourished, also contain many documents illustrative of his public and professional career. The volumes have, moreover, a public interest, aside from their interest as a personal memoir. They contain contributions to the history of the administration of Great Britain, entering into those details to which professed history rarely descends. The author has performed his work in a very creditable manner. Of his impartiality, it is not so easy to judge. One thing is certain,—that he was penetrated with the warmest admiration for the hero of his narrative. Hence, he is profuse in vindicating Lord Eldon from every accusation to which, in his public or private acts, he was subjected. He defends his opinions, his measures, and, we might almost say, his sins. His remarks in support of the religious character of the Earl are particularly unsatisfactory. He was most evidently a better statesman than Christian. Still, in these extended notices of an eminent lawyer and politician, embracing nearly nine hundred pages octavo, there are very few portions which a general reader would wish to omit.

The elevation of Lord Eldon from a much humbler destination and from the common walks of life to the high-chancellorship of Great Britain, the honorable and influential station which he filled for so long a period, and the unusual emoluments accruing from the practice of his profession,

contribute to awaken an interest in his character, and excite our curiosity as to the means of his extraordinary success. It is a most natural question, to what auspicious circumstances was he indebted for his elevation? Was there any thing peculiar in his case,—in his talents, or other natural advantages, or in the patronage of powerful friends? Or, may any one, by diligence and perseverance, hope for similar prosperity? In the few pages which we shall devote to this article, these questions will be solved.

LORD ELDON, originally John Scott, was born at Newcastle, June 4, 1751. His father was a hoadman or coal-fitter. The coal-fitter is the factor who conducts the sales between the owner and the shipper; a business of much responsibility, and, when skilfully conducted, attended, as in the present instance, with handsome profits. John Scott was the eighth of thirteen children by his father's second marriage. His eldest brother by the same marriage was William Scott, afterwards Sir William Scott, knighted in 1788, and created Lord Stowell in 1821, and judge of the High Court of Admiralty of England for thirty years. The sons of Mr. Scott, at a suitable age, were sent to the Royal Grammar School of Newcastle, called the Head School, and taught by the Rev. Hugh Moises. Mr. Moises seems to have been “a man severe, and stern to rule;” but nevertheless an efficient, judicious, and successful teacher. Of his severity young John, being inclined to roguery and mischief, had frequent and painful proof. He seems, however, to have retained a warm esteem for his master during life; and, on being raised to power, took an early occasion to give him a valuable benefice. William Scott, having passed through the preliminary training, was admitted to a vacant scholarship in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in February, 1761. So great was his proficiency that in 1765, before he had completed his twentieth year, he was elected a college tutor—an office which he retained for ten years. When John approached the completion of his studies at the High School, his father, who had formed a design of qualifying him for his own business of a fitter, proceeded to make arrangements to that effect, with which he acquainted his son William, then at Oxford. The latter immediately wrote to his father, dissuading him from his design, and saying, “Send Jack up to me; I can do better for him here.” Jack was sent accordingly; and on May 15, 1766, was matriculated as a member of the

University of Oxford. He was entered under the tuition of his brother. At this time John Scott lacked several weeks of being fifteen years of age.

Lord Eldon tells in the "Anecdote Book" many pleasant tales of his boyish frolics and their often bitter consequences. Both his father and his master, Mr. Moises, strongly approved the system of discipline by the rod ; and in many of the instances in which the future chancellor was subjected to its sharp visitings, it is but too evident that he richly deserved them. Much of his roguery, however, was very harmless in itself, a mere natural overflow of his exuberant spirits. There was one instance, indeed, in which his excesses might have been attended by more serious results. He was carried before a magistrate, with two of his companions, on the charge of robbing an orchard. The fathers of the boys were fined thirty shillings each for the offence, and the latter escaped with only the usual administration of a double dose of the birch.

One circumstance in the early youth of Lord Eldon deserves particular mention. When he left home for Oxford, on the panels of the coach which conveyed him from Newcastle up to London was painted the motto, "*Sat cito, si sat bene.*" The young Oxonian noticed this, and two or three circumstances which transpired before he reached Oxford contributed to impress it the more deeply on his memory. He remarked, late in his history, those words "made a most lasting impression on my mind, and have had their influence upon my conduct in all subsequent life." And again,—"In all that I have had to do in future life, professional and judicial, I have always felt the effect of this early admonition, on the panels of the vehicle which conveyed me from school, "*Sat cito, si sat bene.*" Thus it is that a word, seen or heard in childhood, often becomes the forming influence of riper years. How responsible is the office of those under whom the process of education is conducted ! How possible it is that not the set forms of instruction, and the stately lessons of learning and truth, but the glance of the eye, the tone of the voice, or a single sentence uttered in the carelessness of a casual conversation, may give a lasting bent to the inclination, and stamp the ineffaceable seal of evil or of good, for all future time, on the opening character and heart.

Under the tuition of his brother William, young Scott

seems to have passed his time not unprofitably at the University. The thorough discipline of Moises had prepared him for the diligent and successful pursuit of his studies, though in the midst of temptations. In 1771, he won the University prize of twenty pounds for an English essay, on the advantages and disadvantages of foreign travel. Oxford, however, it is reported, saw at that period hard drinking among the gownsmen, as well as hard study ; the classic shades were characterized by laxity, more than by literature. The students of some of our American colleges will be amused by Lord Eldon's account of his examination for his bachelor's degree, in 1770. "An examination for a degree at Oxford," he said, "was a farce in my time. I was examined in Hebrew and in history. 'What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull?'—I replied, 'Golgotha.'—'Who founded University College?'—I stated, though, by the way, the point is sometimes doubted, that 'King Alfred founded it.'—'Very well, sir,' said the examiner, 'you are competent for your degree.'"

In 1772, the year of Mr. John Scott's majority, an event took place which gave a coloring to all his after life. This was nothing less than his clandestine marriage to Miss Elizabeth Surtees, of Newcastle, a young girl of eighteen years. The parents of the lady had in view some more ambitious match, and, accordingly, endeavored to discourage the addresses of Mr. Scott. Hence the young people found it necessary to take the affair into their own hands. Having arranged their plans, on the night of November 18, 1772, the lady descended by a ladder into the arms of her lover, from a window in her father's house, at Newcastle. They travelled all night, reached Blackshiels, in Scotland, in the morning of the next day, and were married according to the forms of the English church.

The bridegroom had left behind him a letter to his father, imploring his forgiveness, which was after a few days freely granted. The father of the bride was more unfeeling. After two months, however, he relented. The two fathers, in consideration of the poverty of John, and his not being in a situation to maintain a family establishment, came into an arrangement by which they jointly agreed to settle on the young lovers two thousand pounds, bearing interest at five per cent. till paid. Besides this, in order to give a higher

sanction to their union, the marriage ceremony was repeated at the parish church in Newcastle, Jan. 19, 1773, precisely two months after its first performance in Scotland.

But notwithstanding this favorable sequel, the whole affair, viewed in connection with the after-life of Lord Eldon, was sufficiently romantic. The young couple, after the wedding, lingered two or three days on their journey from Scotland, their funds exhausted, without a home to go to, and not knowing in what light their friends would regard their adventure. The hopes of ecclesiastical preferment were cut off. A Newcastle grocer proposed to Mr. Scott, the father, to take his son John into copartnership in his concern; and the proposition was entertained with so much favor by the father, that the son evidently met with a narrow escape from this calling. Even in devoting himself to jurisprudence, he ran the risk of being confined, all his life, to inferior causes and petty courts, from which, not so much superior talent, as a fortunate combination of circumstances secured him. Indeed it is a fact that the profits of his profession the first year were but nine shillings.

The church was Mr. Scott's "first mistress." By the rules of the University, he was permitted to retain his fellowship twelve months, and to accept any college-living which might become vacant within that time. The whole of the year, however, he assiduously devoted to his legal studies, with the view, as he said, of "having two strings to his bow." In fact, he relinquished the expectation of taking orders, and entered as a student in the Middle Temple on the 28th of January, 1773, but a little more than a week after the solemnization of his nuptials at Newcastle.

Necessity, however, drove him to the severest study. He was a faithful exemplification of his own rule for study and discipline of young lawyers, written nearly thirty years afterwards. "I know no rule to give them," he said, "but that they must make up their minds to live like a hermit, and work like a horse." He wrote to a friend and fellow-student, "I have married rashly, and have neither house nor home to offer my wife; but it is my determination to work hard to provide for the woman I love, as soon as I can find the means of doing so." His severe application made serious inroads upon his health; which led a medical friend to plead with him to permit some abatement. "I must either do as I am now doing," he answered, "or starve."

“ He rose at the early hour of four in the morning,” says his biographer, “ observed a careful abstinence at his meals ; and, in order to prevent the invasion of drowsiness, studied at night with a wet towel round his head.” It is pleasant to compare the exemplary diligence of this period of his life with its noble fruits ; and his poverty and prudence, with the princely ease which he enjoyed, when he afterwards rose to the most elevated rank, and was loaded with riches and honors.

Mr. Scott was admitted to the bar February 9, 1776. During the first three or four years, notwithstanding his diligence, he had very little success. But these years were not spent in vain. He copied every thing he could lay his hands on. The loss of two volumes of precedents transcribed by him, and probably lent to some individual, gave him occasion for the pleasant remark, that “ such borrowers, though backward in accounting, seemed to be practised in book-keeping.” The lack of business of his own, in the early years of his professional life, also left him at liberty to observe the manner in which business was done by the most able and experienced lawyers. Thus, by untiring diligence, coupled with natural talent, and impelled by the force of circumstances, he was rapidly preparing himself for the rewards of his severe application. His hard apprenticeship was the slow but certain path to promotion. The stern necessity by which he felt himself constantly driven, in his earliest studies as a lawyer, and in the beginning of his practice of his profession, laid the broad basis of his future success.

For three or four years, Mr. Scott’s business in the line of his profession was very limited. His elder brother, William, writing to his brother Henry, in the year 1779, says :— “ Business is very dull with poor Jack—very dull indeed ; and of consequence, he is not very lively. I heartily wish that business may brisken a little, or he will be heartily sick of his profession. I do all I can to keep up his spirits ; but he is very gloomy.” So little progress did he make in London, notwithstanding all his diligence, that he was on the point of carrying out an early intention conceived by him, of settling as provincial counsel in his native town. Just at this juncture, he was retained as counsel in a case in which he fortunately won for himself much applause. “ Young man,” said a respectable solicitor to him, as he was leaving the

court, “your bread and butter is cut for life.” He was not, however, satisfied that he was in so fair a way for success as the event proved. One year, he did not go the circuit, because he could not afford it. For several circuits he had borrowed of his brother without getting adequate remuneration ; and he determined to quit London, because he could not afford to stay in it. The office of recorder of Newcastle, his native town, having been offered him, he signified his acceptance of the trust, and a house was taken for him by his friends. At this point, however, another case accidentally, as it were, fell into his hands ; and through the importunity of gentlemen of the legal profession who had the discernment to appreciate the high promise of his abilities and learning, he was persuaded to relinquish that project, and to remain in London. From this time (1781), Mr. Scott, by a happy success in the causes which he was called to manage, rapidly augmented his business, and increased both in wealth, and in the estimation in which he was held. His first argument, spoken of above, in which he so highly distinguished himself, drew upon him the attention of the Lord Chancellor Thurlow. The following anecdote of his friendship, has, for various reasons, to some of which we may allude hereafter, much interest.

“ Thurlow became my steady friend, but he showed it rather oddly in one circumstance. Sir Grey Cooper had written to him to ask him to give me a commissionership of bankrupts, and he promised *he would*. Now you know a hundred and sixty or seventy pounds a year would have been a great thing to us ; but *he never did*. In after life I reminded him of his promise, and inquired why he had not fulfilled it ; and his answer was curious ;—‘ It would have been your ruin. Young men are very apt to be content when they get something to live upon ; so when I saw what you were made of, I determined to break my promise, to make you work.’ And I dare say he was right ; for there is nothing does a young lawyer so much good as to be half-starved. It has a fine effect. But it was rather a curious instance of Lord Thurlow’s kindness.”

On the 4th of June, 1783, the day on which Mr. Scott completed the thirty-second year of his age, he was called to the bench of the Middle Temple. The same month, he became a member of Parliament for the borough of Weobly, in Herefordshire,—an office which he continued to hold for many years successively. In 1787, he obtained the chancellorship of the bishopric and county palatine of Durham, which was vacant in consequence of the death of the former incumbent. In June, 1788, he was raised to the office of

solicitor-general, and in the same month he underwent the ceremony of knighthood. Five years later he was made attorney-general. In the summer of 1799, he became chief-justice of the Common Pleas, and was also sworn of the privy council, and created a peer of the realm, with the title of Baron Eldon of Eldon. In April, 1801, Lord Eldon received the great seal from the hand of George III, and was thus made Lord Chancellor of England. In this office, he was brought into a close contact with the king; and, on account of the insanity of George III, he enjoyed the highest exercise of an almost uncontrolled power. In his office as chancellor, being a peer of the realm, he held the dignity of Speaker of the House of Lords; and having at his command the nomination of many of the most important offices of government, civil and ecclesiastical, subject only to the confirmation of the king, his authority was little less than absolute. He was chancellor, from April 14, 1801, till April 30, 1827, with an interval of only about two months. The great seal of England was never held so long by any other individual since the Norman conquest.

During his public life, Lord Eldon enjoyed great emoluments. From his fee-books which remain, it appears that he reaped the following pecuniary rewards from the practice of his profession, besides honor, usefulness and station.

In the year	1786	-	-	-	-	£6,833	7s.	=	\$30,370.33
" "	1787	-	-	-	-	7,600	7s.	=	33,779.33
" "	1788	-	-	-	-	8,419	14s.	=	37,420.83
" "	1789	-	-	-	-	9,559	10s.	=	42,486.66
" "	1790	-	-	-	-	9,684	15s.	=	43,043.33
" "	1791	-	-	-	-	10,213	13s. 6d.	=	45,395.02
" "	1792	-	-	-	-	9,080	9s.	=	40,357.50
" "	1793	-	-	-	-	10,330	1s. 4d.	=	45,911.38
" "	1794	-	-	-	-	11,592		=	51,520.00
" "	1795	-	-	-	-	11,149	15s. 4d.	=	49,554.40
" "	1796	-	-	-	-	12,140	15s. 8d.	=	53,958.94
" "	1797	-	-	-	-	10,861	5s. 6d.	=	48,272.25
" "	1798	-	-	-	-	10,557	17s.	=	46,923.66

The year 1798 was the last entire year of his practice at the bar. The office of chancellor was worth a little more than £9000 a year. Besides this, he obtained an additional salary, as Speaker of the House of Lords. The aggregate amount of his receipts, during the twenty-five years of his chancellorship was £14,718, or \$65,413.33, per annum for the whole period. His princely emoluments in the long ex-

tent of his public life, after he had begun to enjoy the smiles of fortune, and viewed as the rewards of diligence, industry and untiring application, pleasantly recall to memory the period when he was unable to go his circuit, as a lawyer, for the want of means ; and when from his "first perch" after he was admitted to practice, he ran down many a time in the evening, from Cursitor street to Fleet Market, "to get six-penny worth of sprats for supper."

In July, 1821, he was created Viscount Encombe and Earl of Eldon. Encombe was the name of an estate which he had purchased in Dorsetshire, and where he spent a portion of every year among his tenantry, in the pursuits customary with the English gentry, during their periods of relaxation. The scene of the labors and the usefulness, however, of this eminent patriot, was at his post in London, in the court, the cabinet and the House of Lords. Even after he resigned his chancellorship in 1827, he continued to fill his place in the councils of the nation, till the year 1835. His first efforts in Parliament, in February, and December, 1783, were by no means successful. They gave but a slender promise of his future influence, judiciousness and wisdom. In the latter case, in a debate on the India bill, he offered a speech which surprised the whole House of Commons by its far-fetched allusions, pedantic pleasantries, and misinterpretation of the Holy Scriptures. In the course of his remarks, he read from the book of Revelation, the passage in chapter 13 :—"And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns. And they worshipped the dragon," etc. This beast, he affirmed, was plainly the English East India Company. "And he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads." Here, he said, places, pensions, and peerages are plainly marked out. The lawyer had evidently stepped out of his proper department, into one where he was not at home. He could not fight in Saul's armor. He perceived his error, and from that time, desisted from this style of oratory, confining himself to the plain statement of facts, and the evident decisions of law and justice. The following extract from a work published in 1790, entitled, "Strictures on Eminent Lawyers," professes to describe the forensic speaking of Sir John Scott at that period.

"His speaking is of that subtle, correct and deliberate kind, that has more the appearance of written, than of oral eloquence. He branches forth his arguments into different heads and divisions, and pursues the respective parts through all their various ramifications with such methodical accuracy, that argument seems to rise out of argument, and conclusion from conclusion in the most regular and natural progression, so that those who are not acquainted with his practice would suspect that he had studied and prepared his speeches with the most diligent attention; while others, who are better acquainted with the business of the courts, feel their admiration and surprise increased, from the knowledge that a man of his extensive business, so far from studying what he shall say, can scarce find time to glance his eye over the numerous papers that come before him. He is also particularly distinguished for his aptitude and ingenuity of reply. His systematic mind seems to methodize, with inconceivable rapidity, the arguments of his opponents. In the short space of time between the pleadings of his adversary and his reply, every thing seems digested and disposed, and his mode of replication seems planned in the nicest order. He will frequently take up the concluding argument of his opponent, or, at other times, seize upon some observation which had fallen in the middle of the adverse speech. Here he will begin his attack, and proceed by his usual clear and deliberate method, pursuing one regular chain of reasoning till he has confuted, or at least replied to, every proposition against him."

It is not consistent with our purpose, in the present article, to quote largely from the many interesting anecdotes, or to trace the course of parliamentary proceeding and argumentation, and of cabinet consultation, which make up the staple of the Memoir. One or two suggestions have arisen out of the history of the life of Lord Eldon, with which we shall conclude our remarks.

In the mean time, however, we take leave to say, that Lord Eldon lived in the utmost harmony and happiness with the affectionate wife who forsook father and mother for the love she bore to him; who met with him the trials of the darker days of his youth, and enjoyed with him, in the same amiable spirit, the blessings of his more prosperous years. Lady Eldon died in the summer of 1831, at the advanced age of seventy-six. Her husband was severely afflicted by this event. He sought, however, "the earliest possible respite from private sorrow in the performance of his public duties." But the infirmities of age had evidently made serious inroads upon his constitution. We contemplate him with melancholy emotions,—the learned lawyer, the prudent judge, the wise counsellor, the accomplished statesman, the mighty man, who for a quarter of a century had well nigh swayed the sceptre of England,—sinking into the vale of

years, overlooked in the distribution of offices and honors, his voice unheard in the tumult of popular clamors, his hand taken off from the helm of state, and himself passing away. The last time he took any important share in public business, was in the year 1835. The remainder of his days was spent in quiet retirement, or in easy journeys, and cheered by the friendship and society of his daughter and other relatives. He died at his residence in London, January 13, 1838, aged 87 years.

Before we take leave of the records contained in these volumes, we shall present two extracts, containing the opinion of Lord Eldon on important topics, the first, theological, and the second, practical. The judgment which we have been led to form of his religious character would not lead us, under any circumstances, to attach much weight to his theological opinions. But the impression—in reference to a prominent point of theology—made upon the mind of a lawyer of profound discrimination, and accustomed to accuracy both of thought and expression, is entitled, at least, to respectful consideration. The extract refers to the doctrine of the Trinity, and strikes us as eminently sober and rational.

"I have not ceased to delight in the studies to which my life was originally intended to be dedicated. I confess I am not quite so anxious as others, better informed, perhaps, may be, to find the doctrines of natural and revealed religion altogether intelligible. In the former, there are many which are above my reason; and yet they must be true. That a divine Being does exist, the author and preserver of all created beings, himself uncreated and existing from eternity, is a truth of which I have no doubt. And I never could bring myself to think that any reasonable being had a doubt of it; and yet how much of *how this should be*, undoubted as it is that it must be so, is above the comprehension of him 'who seeth through a glass darkly.' So, as to the doctrine of the Trinity, I do not object to it, if it be represented as a perfect mystery. Compelled to believe in the doctrines of natural religion, though many of them are above my reason, why I should withhold my assent to such of the doctrines of revealed religion as are so, I know not. Upon this I say, 'If ye believe in God, believe in me also.' I go a short way to work in this great matter. If the matters communicated in the sacred books are communicated by the God of truth, they must be true. I have asked myself therefore, first, has this communication been made by the God of truth? If it has, secondly, what does the communication contain? I have not been so far led astray from the great purpose of human life, of this state of trial and probation, as not to have often and often endeavored to enable myself to give a reason to him that asketh of the hope that is in me. I have looked, therefore, into the evidence of these things, and I have no doubt of the divine origin of the sacred volume. If so, what is therein contained? If the doctrine of the Trin-

ity in unity is not therein contained, I can only ask him who can prevail upon himself so to say, How readest thou? Assuredly, not as I read—for unless (coming to the consideration of this important matter, a believer in natural religion with all its difficulties about it) I am to twist every thing I find in revelation till I can represent it to myself not as it is, but as I think it should be, in the foolish purpose to bring it down to the level of my reason, I must read, and understand *as it is written*. If this doctrine is not there revealed, I know none respecting the being of God that is there revealed. Indeed, the whole Bible scheme of man's redemption, the whole Bible scheme of this world and that which is to come, appears to me mainly to depend upon it: and when the man of reason tells me he understands the Godhead better if he believes as an Unitarian, than I do, who believe the doctrine of Trinity in unity, I am content that he should think as meanly as he pleases of my understanding. But on the other hand, I humbly pray God to forgive his presumption. When the question was asked, 'Can these dry bones live?'—I think the answer was—'O Lord God, thou knowest.' When the question is asked, 'Can these Three be One,'—my answer is, 'The Lord God knoweth.' He has said it, if there be truth in Scripture."

The other extract has reference to the course which, in his judgment, ought to be pursued in reference to those assaults upon a person's character which, in these days, are, unfortunately, not uncommon. The opinion of a gentleman of the legal profession, of large experience, has both value and weight. It was written by Lord Eldon in a letter to Sir William Scott, when consulted by him upon the best means of stopping certain libellous publications, with which Sir William and his family were threatened.

"There is no jurisdiction in this country that can prevent the publication of this paper by restraint or injunction, if he choose to publish it, nor in any other mode, if it was ever so clear that the law could punish the publication. It follows, of course, therefore, as it seems to me, that there is no way of preventing publication, but by inducing the forbearance of it by money. So to prevent it, or to attempt to prevent it, is what I cannot, and I think no man can, advise. If the person who receives the money abides, in a sense, by the bargain, and does not publish the identical paper he is bribed not to publish (and the odds are that a scoundrel would publish), there can be little doubt that the obtaining of money would be an object continually pursued. Publication after publication will be threatened, that it may be bought off; and if at last publication is defied and made, the fact that money had before been given will come out, and what nobody had believed a word of before, will be believed by many, because money had been given.

"Did you ever see a book called * * *, in which there is, I understand, an infamous false publication about me? Prior to that publication, an effort was made to induce me to find or furnish the means of preventing that publication. I had no fancy that the publication should be made,—far from it; but I could not disguise from myself, that I could only prevent the publication by money; and that so preventing it would lead to consequences which no money would be sufficient to buy

off. I therefore sent my answer, viz : that I never had promoted any publication in favor of myself, and that I never would ; and that I never had prevented, and never would prevent, any publication against myself. If the law, after publication, would not punish the thing, it might take its course. It was published. To say that I liked it should be published would not be true ; but what would have been the consequence, if I had bought it off ?

" If so much of the paper as relates to you related to me, I should give myself not a minute's uneasiness about it. What is stated is false, grossly false, and nobody will believe it, even if it could not be, as it may be, most satisfactorily contradicted, if there could be any necessity for that."

In another letter to his brother, on the same subject, he writes as follows :

" I can only say for myself * * * I have long been of opinion, and upon that I have acted, that the best thing to be done is to take no manner of notice of such things,—to let them work their worst ; and in cases in which I am conscious that what is imputed respecting me is falsely imputed, to leave the imputation to do its worst, and to draw the venom and the poison out of such publications by applying to the wound inflicted the medicine which consciousness, and the good opinion of those whose good opinion alone is worth having, will supply. Contradiction from myself, and contradiction from those whose friendly zeal leads them unasked, and with the kindest intentions, to contradict such calumnies, only makes matters worse, by producing re-assertion more virulent and more inflamed. My rule, therefore, is, to let these wretches do their worst ; and I should not trouble myself one moment, if there was to be this self-same publication about me, as false."

In reading the life of Lord Eldon, we have been impressed with the value of necessity, as a stimulus to exertion. In relating the anecdote of Lord Thurlow's unfaithfulness to his promise, in not conferring on him the office of commissioner of bankruptcy, he remarks, Lord Thurlow knew that he had an indolent nature, so that if only a slender income were certain, he would have been tempted to forego exertion. The truth is, there are few who do not need the force of necessity to urge them to the highest and most successful efforts. The greatest minds have felt the benefit of it. Lord Erskine often spoke of his wife and children as twitching at his gown, and compelling him to exertion. Kenyon and Dunning, two eminent lawyers of the same period, in their early struggles used to dine, during the vacation, " at a small eating-house near Chancery-Lane, at seven-pence-half-penny a head." Dr. Johnson wrote his *Rasselas* in the evenings of a single week, to procure money to pay his mother's funeral expenses. Lord Eldon fully understood

the value of the stimulus of necessity. In transmitting an allowance to a young man at college, who was expecting, on reaching his majority, to succeed to an income of about £300 a year, he wrote to him—

“ You will shortly become entitled to a small property, which may prove to you either a blessing or a curse, according as you use it. It was, perhaps, fortunate for me, that I was not situated in my early life, as you are now. I had not, like you, a small fortune to look to ; I had nothing to depend on but my own exertions ; and, so far from considering this a misfortune, I now esteem it a blessing ; for if I had possessed the same means which you will enjoy, I should, in all probability, not be where I now am. I would, therefore, caution you not to let this little property turn your mind from more important objects ; but rather let it stimulate you to cultivate your abilities, and to advance yourself in society.”

The personal history of multitudes who have become distinguished in the world by wealth, or talent, or power, would show the value of necessity in stimulating men to extraordinary exertion. The fact that property, distinction and office are transferred in successive generations from one family to another,—the elevated descending from their rank, and the obscure rising into notice, the affluent becoming needy, and the needy affluent,—is a proof of it. The history of the development of talent would be still more interesting and instructive in this respect. In this age, and particularly in our own country, poverty is no barrier to distinction. Remote cottages and farm houses, and retired chambers, the dwellings of the honorable and virtuous poor, have given benefactors to the world of mind, and sent forth incumbents of the learned professions, who have succeeded to the possession of riches and honor. Pinching poverty may discourage, at every point, the young aspirant for usefulness or fame ; embarrassment may be heaped on embarrassment, delaying him again and again in his course ; anxiety by night and weariness by day may be added to the ordinary fatigue and mental friction of a student’s life ; and he may have the prospect of an accumulated debt to be discharged after he enters on the duties of his profession. But let him press forward with courage. The necessities of his situation will not harm him. So far from being a detriment, they will only impel him to more energetic exertions. And, more than this, his narrow circumstances and the expedients by which he is forced to adapt himself to them, and to meet their demands, bring to light the resources of which

he is possessed. They draw forth noble qualities, which will not thrive under the delicate nurturing of wealth and ease. He may have a hard task ; but he is paving his pathway to lighter work.

Too much aid,—such as shall relieve the student from all necessity or anxiety,—is worse than too little. The circumstances of young men differ so much that it is difficult,—perhaps impossible,—to graduate the amount and the mode of aid by any scale which shall be universally applicable. The age, the constitution, the temperament, the early opportunities, the susceptibility, the capacities of students in the forming period of life are so various, that the most judicious course in respect to one, would often be most injurious in respect to others. We believe that in general, a recommendation to the societies which afford assistance to young men pursuing a course of education, has been, in this country, too easily obtained. Men of weak parts and of little energy have been tempted to press into the lower ranks of a profession to which they are incompetent to do any honor ;—men, who, under a more rigid system of aid, would never have risen above mediocrity as mechanics or virtuous laborers. Much, very much is to be said in favor of Education Societies ; still they ought not to compensate inefficiency and indolence, but only to encourage those who, even without their aid would, though it might be in a more circuitous and trying way, help themselves ;—whose language is like that of the ancient general,—*Aut viam inveniam, aut faciam.*

The history of Lord Eldon has impressed us with another sentiment, the importance of hard labor to those who would enjoy success. During the whole course of his public life, if we except the period after he finally resigned the chancellorship, he was noted for his earnest and untiring application. We admire this trait in his history ; its manifestation during the period of his studies gave an early presage of his success. He commends the diligent use of time and opportunities, to his grandson at the University, in the following terms :—

“ While you remain there [at the University], you will never lose sight of this incontestable truth, that if your time is not *well* spent there, it cannot but be *ill* employed. The management of time in the University cannot be attended with indifferent consequences ; it must produce either great, important, lasting benefits, or create evils which will be severely felt in all that is to come of after life.”

In a letter to his brother, he exhibits in a still more

emphatic manner the principles which ought to regulate a student's life :—

“ The truth is that upon F. there must be impressed the necessity of his working for himself. These lads, who give each other great dinners, with claret, champagne, etc., must learn that this will not do, if they are to pursue a profession ; and they must learn that if they want the aid of a profession, they must submit to the privations which young men, who are to get forward in professions, have always submitted to. This is a truth of which they are not aware.”

We have already alluded to the industrious habits of Lord Eldon, especially to his practice, at one period, of studying by night with a wet towel round his head, not, like Porson, to allay fever, but to prevent drowsiness. When he was a student, he abridged Coke upon Littleton ; and afterwards, he read it again, and again, and again. Once he refused an invitation from his brother to dine with Dr. Johnson, saying, “ I dine with Coke to-day.” He acquired such an intimate acquaintance with the chancery reports, “ that he would tell not merely the very page in which each of the cases was to be found, but state off-hand the precise points in which they agreed or differed.”

It could be easily shown, by reference to many individuals of celebrity, that diligence, industry and untiring application are among the surest elements of success. It is related by Mr. Medhurst, of a Chinese student, that he tied his hair to a beam of the house to prevent his nodding to sleep. Another was in the habit of driving an awl into his thigh, when inclined to slumber. And still another suspended his book to the horns of his buffalo, that he might study while following the plough. Even where genius, so called, is wanting,—where there is neither profound knowledge, quick apprehension, shining talent, nor patronage, diligence and industry will make up for the deficiency, and gradually win the way of the young student to prosperity and honor. A consciousness of his deficiency will often bind a man to his studies, where another, putting confidence in his talents, is idle. And it requires little wisdom to foresee that, in the end, the former will far outstrip the latter in the race for distinction. It is not natural endowments and advantages, so much as habits, that ensure success. Indolence ruins the best prospects. Diligence opens new sources of good continually. It increases our resources, intellectual and physical. It gives strength and solidity to the character, and, sooner or later, in all ordinary circumstances, it secures prosperity and distinction.

ARTICLE III.

ON EXISTING OCCASIONS TO SKEPTICISM.

Infidelity ; comprising Jenkyn's Internal Evidence, Leslie's Method, Littleton's Conversion of St. Paul, Watson's Reply to Gibbon and Paine, etc. Am. Tract Society.

The Evidences of Christianity, in their External or Historical Division : Exhibited in a Course of Lectures by Bishop M'Ilvaine. Harper & Brothers, New York.

THE design of the present article is to exhibit briefly some of the occasions to skepticism, which exist among the American people. The space within which we have limited ourselves will not admit the extended examination of details ; and our chief aim will be secured, if to so vital a subject attention is drawn, and a more earnest spirit of inquiry in reference to it, elicited.

And first, we may speak of the favorable field which our country now opens for the manifestation of erratic and reckless tendencies.

Without falling into the error of ascribing every thing of folly and madness to the present over all the past, it may, we think, be safely assumed, that we live amid tendencies unknown certainly in their strength to any former period of history. We speak not now of these as they exist the world over, so much as among ourselves. In different meridians of the old world, causes tending to the revolution of opinions and to violence have been as rife in past times as they are now. Europe at least, after the events through which within a half a century she has passed, would seem to be resting, like a volcano after one of its most fearful eruptions, to accumulate, it may be, in the deep and prolificbed of her general mind, new elements of explosive energy. These may yet, as within the period named, burst out to the terror of the world. But at present, their state is one of comparative repose.

Not so with our own country. We have but just entered as it were, on our career, and our destiny as a people is far

before us. Here is a field long and broad, in which the avenues to wealth and distinction are varied and numerous. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the frozen to the torrid zone, one vast sphere of fertility and unexplored resources is opened before us. And over this wide extent, processes are going on by which the remotest point of the whole may be reached, with a celerity and ease astonishing even to ourselves. Not distant is the day, when members of our family in New England and Oregon may feel themselves as near each other, as formerly between New England and New York.

That there should be into such a field as this, with so many lines of rapid communication running through it, a general and violent rush, need not surprise us. Nor should it, that there is manifested among sensual beings the infatuated pursuit of fame and wealth, so easily have both been frequently obtained. That a giddy and general intoxication in times past should have seized the multitude, and borne them along, often to the disregard of the very first maxims of righteousness, need not be accounted singular. Poorly enough have we read the moral history of man, if by all this we are startled, as though some strange sight had affected us.

That there should be, in connection with the foregoing, a press free even to the point of licentiousness, the very scavenger of profligacy; that in the removal of the restraints which in other lands it is comparatively easy to render strong, the boasted cry of freedom to speak and to print should too often come to be but the watchword and refuge of infidelity and iniquity, need not appal us, though we be saddened at the spectacle. All is no more than the spontaneous result of giving a wider and more untrammelled scope to the inborn tendencies of humanity. We have but opened on this continent, though we hope for it a high destiny, a sphere in which Satan can muster his forces at will, even as when of old—

“ He called so loud,
That all the hollow depths of hell resounded ; ”

and where he can develop their vigor to the utmost.

Here by a wide perversion of the democratic element, he is resolved to have a zeal to serve him, of active and sharp-

ened minds, as in other climes and under the general groaning of creation, he has the heart steeled by idolatry and the body debauched by vice. To prolong the view thus briefly given were unnecessary, since all must see that the peculiar facilities of such a field open widely the way for a free circulation of the poisoned waters of skepticism. In the importance, notwithstanding, which we should attach to it, it could not in the survey that we have undertaken, be overlooked.

2. Then, no small advantage is given to the enemies of truth by the absence of consolidation and unity in the feelings and efforts of those embracing fundamentally the same religion. It is too common a theme, to speak at length of the power of combined, over scattered, influence. It is enough to direct attention to a single example — that of the Catholic church — in the most unwarranted, but yet vigorous use of the arms which she has uniformly wielded to put down heretics, to demolish opposition, and to carry forward her great undertakings. Rome well understands that here is one of the many locks of her strength, — a secret in which it is to be feared she is far in advance of Protestants. As we look back on a line of ages, we can see at almost every step how unbroken has been her front, and how unitedly she has met the assaults of her enemies. Had it not been for this, she might even now have been numbered among the overshadowing despotisms that were. Many a time, more from this than any other cause, has victory perched on the standards of her faith. Before her firm array has hostility itself often melted as snow under a meridian heat, even falling into, and swelling the current that bore the so called church onward in her career.

The truth is not to be disguised that here lies among us a much deeper source of skepticism than we may have been in the habit of supposing. We see the operation of this cause, but we do not discern it sufficiently. We sometimes forget that men will array an argument, specious to them, whether well or ill founded, against the religion of the Bible, when those who profess to receive this as their common platform of faith are seemingly so widely disagreed ; certainly so separate among themselves. Without suitable allowance for the infirmities of the human understanding, they will and do in-

quire, with not a little point and significance it must be confessed, "Why stand you so much apart among yourselves?" And to this inquiry a special force is added, whenever those who hold well nigh a common basis in doctrine and church polity, engage in partisan and acrimonious discussion. We would here utter nothing against an earnest contending "for the faith once delivered to the saints." It is not impossible, surely, that for this we may yet be called, in our own or the persons of our children, to shed our blood. A conflict of truth and error of unwonted fierceness evidently awaits us. Neither would we overlook the practicability, if not the necessity, of tracing the cause of doctrinal differences and alienation among Christians to a genuine origin. Still the fact as an influence gendering unbelief, is unchanged; and could we ascertain its extent, could we read the inward movements of minds around us, and those, too, not minds of the lowest order, whenever religious disputation rages, and as is too commonly the case following a revival of the work of God;—could we see all this in the manner in which such discussions are often conducted as the judgment will unfold it, we should use words certainly as weapons that are to be softly handled, and the anathemas which we may have at command we should reserve, if reserved at all, to be dealt out against the common and acknowledged enemies of God and righteousness. How much of the subtle poison of infidelity has been infused into minds around us in the manner described,—how much Christians here will be answerable for at the bar of God—for the virulence, oftentimes, with which they have conducted unavailing controversy among themselves, we shall not attempt to determine.

But not only is the tendency of alienation and division among believers in Christ to engender skepticism by a positive influence, but to render the efforts which we oppose to it comparatively feeble. The vindication of truth receives, as all know, sanction and success, in a great degree, in proportion as he who stands forth as its champion is sustained by the nearly or quite unanimous countenance of those who with him are supposed to occupy a common ground. But if, through alienation among the various tribes of our Israel, this result cannot be secured, no consolidating centre, no throbbing heart, binds them together, each tribe is so jealous of its neighbor as to refuse to unite with it in meeting

the combined foes of God, to rally *so far* beneath one standard, but each must lift so high its own, that the common enemy may perceive what scattered and isolated squadrons are mustered against him, he may well laugh at our impotence. Like leviathan of the deep, all may appear to him as but the shaking of a spear by a nerveless arm.

Look at the present position of the Protestant world. There is truly "enough of the dissidence of dissent." The enumeration of different denominations of professing Christians, as it is sufficiently known, need not be given. The operations of benevolence, too, are scarcely less cut up and diversified. The aim seems to be common; but how various the means, and how multiplied the organizations. Even the cross, the determination "to know nothing among men save Jesus Christ and him crucified," the only common basis on which perhaps we shall ever be able to stand, hath not yet obtained sufficient moral energy to draw toward itself, as towards one mighty centre of attraction, all Christian hearts. That a fearful advantage is here given to the forces of skepticism, will not be questioned. Our position, as the members of different denominations, representing, conventionally at least, the Protestant religion, will give to those who oppose us a high vantage ground, unless the strong points of our agreement be understood, and unless our mutual position be most sedulously guarded. It will prove not only an occasion of skepticism to the naturally unbelieving, but it will render us feeble comparatively in our efforts to advance the true kingdom of Immanuel. Our close contact as churches is indeed an exposure, and opens, without unceasing watchfulness and prayer, many a channel through which the bitter waters of unkindness and strife will find their way. Having, too, at the crisis to which Divine Providence has brought us, greater ends as Christians than the strenuous promotion of our minor differences, our aim should be, while these are not overlooked, to secure among all "who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," and on whom as such God has pronounced his own blessing, that affinity of spirit, which looks steadily and intently to the triumph alone of his cause. And justification alone by faith in Christ, as a cardinal truth, asserted by all the Protestants, may well constitute the keystone of our grand spiritual arch. The Christian temple, though reared

of materials varying in their color, may yet lift itself in strength and symmetry, as it rests only on this chief cornerstone which the Lord God hath laid in Zion.

The importance, nay the indispensableness of our coming to this point as the followers of our Lord, will, we are confident, be yet seen in a light in which it has never been viewed before. It may not stop discussion between them, nor is it desirable that it should. But it will cause more pens to be dipped in heaven. It will hush the voice of clamor. It will calm into silence the note of harshness. It will lead Christians to see and feel that, in spite of their differences, they are brethren, directing them with emphasis, "whereunto they have attained, to walk by the same rule and to mind the same thing." And, under the conviction that in the future triumphs of truth they have a high appointed destination, it will lead them more devoutly than ever to seek and obtain that "unction from the Holy One" by which they may "know all things."

3. The pseudo-philanthropy and false teaching so current around us, furnishes additional and direct occasion to the unbelief of the multitude. It is well understood that infidelity is ever investing itself with a new and varying drapery. It is hence part of our business, as Christians, and ministers at the altar especially, to tear this away, and let the people see what stands unmasked behind it. During the period of the French revolution, the cry of those who bowed before the goddess of unbelief and atheism, was *reason* and *liberty*. A vaunted rationalism, trampling beneath its proud feet all religion as but so many forms of superstition, the practical denial thus of any religious motive of man, and a savage democracy, making freedom consist in the removal well nigh of all wholesome restraint, were the actual watchwords under which they rallied their forces to the battle. But in the view of the civilized world, there was enacted a tragedy that, while human records last, can never be forgotten. Humanity shuddered at the undisguised spectacle of what infidelity, broken loose and rampant, could accomplish. As the grand agency of the bottomless pit, the monster has learned too much from that experiment to assume again a similar attitude of horror. So advancing have been the principles and spirit of Christianity, in our own country certainly, since the period named, that it has come to be deemed needful to wrest from

the church the weapons which she holds in her hands, and turn them against herself. He of whose devices we are not wholly ignorant, and who, as it best suits his purposes, can transform himself into an angel of darkness or of light, has here laid deep his plot. With not a few, the fixed resolve evidently is to overturn the religion of the cross. Numerous banners are unfurled to the breeze, on which some inscribe in large and brilliant capitals, "Temperance;" others, "Anti-Slavery and Reform;" others still, "Fourierism, and Fraternity, open and secret." The long and loud cry of those who stand about them is, "Come with us and we will do you good. We are enlisted, as you see, in the service of humanity, virtue and freedom. Ours is the cause. It involves religion enough. It is itself the very essence of religion. The gospel, as compared with it, is mere theory. The church,—a synagogue of Satan, or the Babylon of the Apocalypse,—the ministry,—dumb dogs and hireling priests,—are in our way and yours; therefore, down with them; level every sanctuary, so called, to the ground; let not a monument to perpetuate the religion of the present or the past, the graves and memories of our fathers, be left; proclaim throughout the land that the Sabbath is but an obsolete Jewish institution, and expired with that dispensation; sink low in the earth the foundations of all human government; let there remain to us no centre either of moral or of civil authority; but explore the yet unseen depths of valor in the soul of man; bind the race together by naught but spontaneous impulses;" and—but we need add nothing farther.

That we have here infidelity, if not unadulterated, yet real and rank, in but a thin disguise, no one who understands aught of the wiles of the enemy can be at a loss to see. Nor is it infidelity less to be feared because its attitude is often specious and alluring to the unwary. The mass of the people among us, with the education and remaining spirit of former times, would instantly be affected to loathing by but a sight of the gross and ferocious demon of the French revolution. The lifting of his very crest would be a signal for a general turning away. In a community educated as ours has been, there must be, it is clearly enough seen, in the skepticism that gains a currency here, the mixture of a fascinating address and refinement, of transcendental beauties,

of rationalism and poetry, and a large infusion especially of professed love to mankind. And such a genius as this has actually risen up among us, and is now set forth before our eyes. It is no pallid Gorgon, so terrific in its first aspect as to turn the beholder into a stone. But it is clad in habiliments to win upon the incredulous, the superficial and the simple-hearted, while with the lustrous mildness of its eye, it can charm many a victim into its fatal embrace.

That the foregoing constitutes one of the most dreaded forms of infidelity requires but a pause to convince us. Living as we do at a time when the elements of society are thrown into a state of violent fermentation, in which, under many misguiding influences, there is a high and rising tide of philanthropy; in which, too, causes are at work, in connection with a breaking away from tradition and the institutions of the past, to weaken the power of veneration on the general mind, we have not a little to apprehend from the working of a skepticism aware of all this, and which is marshalling itself accordingly. Increased currency is likewise given to such an agency of evil as the one glanced at, when, as is too commonly seen, Christians, including ministers of Jesus, are observed directly or virtually embarking in its advancement. And this we are constantly seeing. We have heard of clergymen who mingle freely in meetings and debates where they must not only weaken their own religious hold on the people, but give thus by their example an unequivocal countenance to error. Attendance on such assemblages, silent though it be, often amounts to patronage. Such attractions as popular singing are now frequently introduced, to allure those toward them who else would have remained away; and then, the largeness of the meeting, we have known to be proclaimed in tones of triumph. When, too, men choose to call together the multitude by appeals simply to prejudice and passion, when, as was lately seen, a pictured placard representing a criminal on the scaffold with a gowned clergyman reading at his side, posted to view in the most public places in Boston, and at the entrance of Faneuil Hall, even while a numerous convention were assembled within its walls, proclaiming, in connection with a late capital execution, "Another Murder in Worcester!" — when such inflammatory measures are adopted at the heart of New England, — measures gendered in the spirit of the French revolution, — measures designed to

undermine at once the divine and human law, let Christian men, as they value aught that is dear or sacred in our institutions, costing as they have the blood and treasure of the past, keep in every way profoundly aloof, so far as any support can be given, from such appliances of unbelief. Let theirs, in this matter, be the language of inspiration; — “O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united, even though graced by executive presence and participation!”

It is obvious, besides, that we are in the midst of a community where the forms of unbelief are so varied, not confined to the highway of the world, but finding its way into the so called sanctuary, where it is nurtured into a rank luxuriance, that the transition from semi-infidelity to gross infidelity, becomes comparatively easy, as it is often rapid. Without ascribing to a class of religious teachers, from not a few of whom the award of virtue and sincerity is not to be withheld, any such design, we yet think it plain that, in too many instances, they are sowing the seeds of a harvest, appalling even to themselves, could they but see it ripened, and, as it must be, gathered by a multitude. We think it plain that, by giving a nearly unbounded and unlicensed rein to inquiry, by despoiling themselves of the sure word of prophecy, as a “light shining in a dark place,” as the source of substantial authority, and as an ultimate arbiter, they are undermining thus, in the view of those who wait on their ministrations, the very foundations of revealed truth, — they are unconsciously to themselves, we will in charity believe, laying stepping-stones up to the high road of an undisguised skepticism. The fact of such a tendency, existing evidence would seem to render indisputable. A process, however religious and thus specious it may be, by which faith in the entire inspiration and divinity of Christianity is weakened, must be followed, among creatures naturally unbelieving, by such a result. No *a priori* evidence would seem to be clearer, than that fallen beings require not only a perfect guide for their moral conduct, but a source of authority admitting of no further appeal. If we have not this in the Bible, plainly we have it no where. They, consequently, who weaken this authority, however it is done, must contribute not a little to the unbelief of those whom their influence reaches, and thus to fetter them in their position of alienation from God. Let unbelief, under any of its

forms, lurk in the general mind, even though there be the accompaniment of certain religious sanctions or observances, and outlets will be formed through which the turbid waters that have there in consequence collected, will break out, however pent up for a season, and course their natural, downward way into the open sea of infidelity. So many agencies of respectability, learning and influence are at work among us to set in motion the beginnings of unbelief, as to form, we cannot doubt, a prominent occasion to skepticism.

We must not, in this survey, overlook that fanaticism which, under the forms of Millerism and Perfectionism with the brood which they naturally gender, has been spreading itself in all directions, charged, as the event must prove, with not a little tendency of the same kind. The dogmatism and industry with which these have spoken, and especially the former, cannot be without their effects on the superficial mass. The prediction of a late writer on this subject, who holds the following language, may seem wild, and it is hoped, surely, that the result may prove it so. "I doubt not," he says, "that five years will fully prove that the Millerites have done more to promote infidelity in this country, than Robert Owen and Fanny Wright could ever accomplish."

4. We may be permitted, before closing this article, to speak of the withholding, on the part of Christians, and ministers in particular, of "sound doctrine" and formative instruction, as giving an occasion, or at least a fearful advantage to infidelity. We would not be understood to make delinquency here so much a matter of intentional neglect or conscious inability, as the result of other causes. It is evident that the demand on the ministry of late has been imperious, we may say overbearing, to present only certain classes of truths; and to give of these such an exhibition as would produce, according to the popular supposition, the most of momentary feeling and of temporary result. It is clear, besides, that before a demand so impetuous, there would be caused a necessary impatience under an unimpassioned communication of ethical and doctrinal truth; and that, in the loud cry, "give us the novel, the startling, the pathetic, the immediately practical," truths fundamentally important would be overlooked. This we have seen. The public teachers of our religion have, in a greater or less degree, yielded in giving way to the strong temptation by which they have thus been plied. Such a

temptation, too, it is not to be disguised, too commonly finds a ready auxiliary in that natural indolence, which is ever prone to excuse itself from earnest study and protracted investigation. Discourses from the pulpit, while they may not be wanting in entertainment or attractiveness, or in the quality of being effective, have been too illy suited either to remove the leaven of unbelief when it already exists, or to throw bulwarks of preserving power around the multitude, and in particular the young. The consequence, as should have been foreseen, is, they fall a prey to the seductions of an industrious enemy, when timely instruction and guidance might have saved them. We have fallen certainly on the last times in the history of man, when any of the mighty weapons of truth can be laid aside. Poorly do we understand the necessities of the great conflict toward which we are rapidly tending, if we have vainly imagined that we can dispense with an ability on the part of all, ministers and people, to handle with discrimination and valor the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. If deficient here, the forces of unbelief will muster against us an odds of dreaded power.

All new practical and theoretical demonstrations are on the side of Christianity. But this can never sufficiently avail, if the people have little mastery of its truths and evidences. Never could we here more confidently covet investigation, than now. Geology for a time lifted its notes of triumph, after the vanquished armies of an infidel age had retired from public view. But that voice, like a hundred others, has died away in homage to Revelation. The march of science and of history is becoming more and more tributary to its advancement. With Providence thus interposing, we need not dread investigation concerning any branch of revealed truth. Rather, we may challenge inquiry, if we are ourselves able to meet it,—to “quit ourselves like men, and be strong.”

To revive the subtleties of the scholastic age were neither practicable nor desirable. The present would never tolerate it; and we have reason enough to fear that truth would thereby be rather retarded than advanced. The achievements of that age, notwithstanding, are an evidence of the power that can be commanded to direct attention even into the more recondite paths of truth, a power, which it would still be of

use to make bear on surrounding superficialness and indifference to thinking. The more recent Oxford controversy is evidence of the same kind. All goes to indicate that, with ability and concert, we too can call in and fix the attention of men in a higher degree certainly, on the deep foundations of our blessed religion.

Remarks on this head we need not extend farther than to add, that it is no part of our present aim to speak complainingly on this subject. Providence may have wisely designed to quicken the before too sluggish pulse of feeling in our churches; and as, in connection with a springing crop of heresies, we are brought to see the importance of speaking "the things which become sound doctrine," to lead us ultimately, where, between the theoretical and practical, we should hold a just equilibrium. That such may be the result, of which already we have some pleasing indications, it becometh us to labor and pray.

5. The only remaining occasion to skepticism at which we can now glance, is religious indifference and formalism. In the primitive age of Christianity, there was, as we have seen, a cheerful sacrificing of all things on the altar of God. In the propagation of the new religion of love, men counted not their lives dear unto themselves, that, like the chief of the apostles, they might finish their course with joy, and the ministry which they had "received of the Lord Jesus, to "testify the gospel of the grace of God." The result, a clause from the pen of inspiration has told us. "The word of God," amid the most desperate opposition, "grew mightily and prevailed." Infidelity, leagued with the forces of paganism, melted away before its march. The reasons cannot now be enlarged upon; the entire devotion of the first disciples must be mentioned, as one of the highest prominence.

A genuine revival of apostolical religion in all the manifestations of holy zeal and self-denial for which it was so eminent, of which the reviving spirit of missions, and renewed effusions of the Holy Spirit within a few years are a pleasing augury, would remove, beyond any thing beside, the leaven of skepticism from minds around us. The high places of Greece and Rome, of infidelity and false religion, would again, as then, tremble. The conflict of such mighty influences, the energies of earth can never withstand. Let men

see us wielding beyond question the same instruments with apostles and martyrs,—instruments “mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds,”—and nothing will so strongly constrain them to ground their weapons of unbelief, and bow to the sceptre of Christ. Here is an argument,—the argument of action and of the life,—which even a steeled infidelity cannot encounter. Let us, then, as we may, suspect ourselves, as the professing followers of Jesus, of having been, in our too low consecration to his service, no small occasion of the skepticism which we deplore.

J. W. O.

ARTICLE IV.

LIFE OF DR. NETTLETON.

Memoir of the Life and Character of Rev. ASAHEL NETTLETON, D. D. By BENNET TYLER, D. D., President and Professor of Christian Theology in Theological Institute of Conn. Hartford. Robins & Smith. pp. 372. 1844.

WHEN it was announced that a life of the late Dr. Nettleton, from the pen of his early friend, Dr. Tyler, might be expected, high hopes were entertained that a valuable acquisition would be made to our theological literature. These hopes were raised still higher by such testimony as that of Dr. Beecher in the preface: “Mr. Nettleton has served God and his generation with more self-denial, and constancy, and wisdom, and success, than any man living. I witnessed his commencement, and knew his progress, and the relative state of things in Connecticut, especially; and what, but for his influence in promoting revivals, and exciting and teaching by example others to promote them, might have been the condition of the churches in those days of revolution through which they have passed! Considering the extent of his influence, I regard him as beyond comparison, the greatest benefactor which God has given to this nation; and through his influence in promoting pure and powerful revivals of religion, as destined to be one of the greatest benefactors of the world, and among the most efficient instruments of introducing the

glory of the latter day."—After many months, it is generally felt that the biography hardly meets the expectations formed. The interest of the subject, and the abundant materials which might have been obtained, justified the hope of a more able and complete narrative.

It has the appearance of haste and indolence ; things of no special interest and in every one's hands are inserted, as, for instance, the entire preface to the Village Hymns ; while much is omitted which would have added to the value of the work,—as facts which would have illustrated his peculiarities, and made us acquainted with the man, more of his letters, and the testimony of English friends. The fear of making too large a book, has led the author to furnish one altogether too barren of incident. The defects of the moral likeness, are nearly those of the plate accompanying the book. We recognize some features, but we must draw upon memory to make them natural ; while the little Bible in his hand and his mode of holding it, bring him fresh to our view. Now if every part of the picture were as good as the little Bible in his hand, it would be true to life. There is a want of freshness and vivacity in the narrative ; we want to be let into the workings of his mind ; we want reports of his conversations ; we want such accounts of his peculiar wisdom and adroitness in conversing with sinners, as T. W. B. has given us in the *New York Observer*, during the revival in Jamaica, on Long Island. The history of Mr. Nettleton for fifteen years, if all the places where he labored had been visited, might be made to resemble the history of Paul in the Acts. We sincerely hope that some one, before the present generation pass away, will gather up the unwritten record of those wonderful works of God in connection with his labors. We would account it the richest part of our life, could we be allowed to do it.

Mr. Nettleton was as extraordinary a man in his way, as Edwards or Whitefield. He had a peculiar dispensation assigned him. He had not the strong grasp of intellect and power of continued investigation of the former, nor the seraphic eloquence and vigorous imagination of the latter ; but he left as distinct an impression on the world, as either.

"In order," says Dr. Johnson, "to form a just estimate of the merit of a writer, it is necessary to examine the genius of his age, and the opinions of his contemporaries." The re-

mark holds true of all distinguished men ; we must consider the circumstances under which they came forward into life, —the state of the world. The theory of revivals is now very generally understood ; but when Mr. Nettleton began to preach, there was a distrust almost as general of the reality of revivals,—of course, very little acquaintance with the methods of divine grace. It had been well, if the author had collected facts to illustrate the state of the churches at that time ; then we could more readily appreciate the greatness of the work given Mr. N. to do. What Bacon was in inductive philosophy, or Newton in astronomy and physics, Nettleton was in the science of revivals. He gathered up the scattered facts, in the Acts of the Apostles, the writings of the early fathers, of Edwards, Smalley, Bellamy, and Emmons, and reduced them to a system. It was astonishing to observe the extent of his researches and the accuracy of his observation.

The period of his birth was one of great darkness in the church. Formalism widely prevailed. No one had a spirit of missions. There were good ministers in that day ; but their attention was not particularly turned either to the conversion of sinners at home, or the evangelization of the heathen abroad. It is remarkable that on the same day, two men should have been born, who were destined to exert such an influence on these two great subjects. These two men were Asahel Nettleton and Samuel J. Mills.—Luther and Loyola were contemporaries. Minds of similar stamp often appear at the same time. Buonaparte and the Duke of Wellington were born in the same year.

Mr. N. was reared on a farm. His parents were plain, pious people ; simplicity of manners and practical good sense characterized the neighborhood. He entered college at the age of twenty-two. His early advantages for an education were limited ; this fact, together with a strict conscience, prevented him from devoting his time to a wide range of studies. He never aimed at polish, either in his manners or his style of writing.

We learn from a short narrative drawn up by his own hand, that he was hopefully converted at the age of eighteen. Another remarkable coincidence is, that young Mills obtained a hope of forgiven sins within two months of that period, in another county of the same state. The law-work on the heart of Mr. N. was long, and deep, and thorough. For ten

months the conflict was carried on, before he submitted to the righteousness of Christ. This fact we regard as one that gave a cast and coloring to his Christian life, and exerted a controlling influence upon his course as a minister of the New Testament. Our religion is worth just what it cost us. Those men who have been instrumental of turning many to righteousness have been deeply convicted of sin; they have been slain by the law, and subdued to the obedience of faith. Their Christian experience has been a realization of the great truths of the gospel, written on the heart by the Spirit of truth. They had the witness within them that the Bible was true, and every doctrine it contains. Such were Paul and Peter, Augustin and Chrysostom, Luther and Calvin, Bunyan and Doddridge, Whitefield and Wesley, Carey and Fuller, Edwards and Brainerd, Martyn and Payson. No sooner did a Christian hope spring up in his breast, than he expressed a strong desire to become a missionary to the heathen. As yet, no association existed in America for the purpose of sending missionaries to the dark places of the earth. The depth of the work of God in his heart was evinced by the energy of this desire to preach the gospel to the pagan. "This purpose," says his biographer, "was afterwards greatly strengthened by the perusal of Horne's Letters on Missions;"—which, we may add, is one of the most eloquent and powerful appeals ever written on the subject. "The feelings which Samuel J. Mills expressed to his father soon after his conversion, were precisely the feelings of Asahel Nettleton at this period, viz., "That he could not conceive of any course of life in which to pass the rest of his days, that would prove so pleasant, as to go and communicate the gospel salvation to the poor heathen." So many points of resemblance between Mills and Nettleton show us that when God has a great work to do, he will raise up instruments to accomplish it. In an unexpected way, the feelings of the one were communicated to the other; nor did either of them know or suppose there was another individual who had similar feelings. They were soon brought together; their intercourse was the communion of kindred spirits. Although they wept and prayed together over the darkness and degradation of the heathen, formed many plans, and entered into solemn engagements with each other, yet neither of them was permitted to be a foreign missionary. Mr. Nettleton became in the strict sense,

as we understand the term, an evangelist. He labored with wonderful success in the waste places of Zion ; under God, he was the means of building up many feeble churches. Revivals of religion so generally resulted from his preaching, that he could not be spared to go abroad. Like Luther, he learned the will of God by his success, and went forward gaining knowledge by experience, till it was evident a new order of things was springing up under his hand. A mysterious power was soon connected with his name ; wherever he went, the camp of Satan was alarmed, and Zion began to rejoice. At first, he was as much opposed by the wicked as Whitefield or Wesley. He was insulted and assailed in every way ; these demonstrations, he regarded as signs of the coming of Christ. He gave his whole mind to the subject of revivals of religion. He studied the Scriptures and the writings of pious men with reference to this subject. And it is conceded that he obtained more knowledge of this matter than any man who has lived in our day. His acquaintance with the human heart was great ; he seldom misjudged ; like a skilful physician, he seemed to have an almost intuitive insight into the case before him. In this respect, we cannot but think the present biography deficient ; it ought to have embodied the results of so much observation and experience, for the benefit of those who are called to watch for souls.

The plainness and pungency of Dr. Nettleton's address to the conscience, frequently excited against him, especially at the beginning of his labors, strong feelings of personal hostility. These were sometimes expressed in acts of insult and malignity. His conduct on such occasions, was worthy of special remark. He never raised the cry of persecution ; nay more, he never alluded to such occasions even to his most intimate friends, until his labors were completed, and then but rarely ; and only in the way of good-humored remark, for the sake of enforcing the wisdom of forbearance and patience under wrong. We well remember his narration of a case of this kind, which we will give, as nearly as we can remember, in his own words.

"I was laboring," says he, "in the village of —, in Connecticut, and there were strong indications of the commencement of a powerful revival. Saints were engaged in prayer and labor, and a spirit of violent opposition manifested itself among the ungodly. Brother —, the pastor of the

church, was called to a distant part of the parish to officiate at a wedding. I accompanied him. We rode there together, and when we arrived at the house, he left his surtout coat hanging over the back of his chaise. Nothing particular occurred during the ceremony. When, however, we were preparing to return home, it was discovered that the harness was cut in several places. This, after a time, was repaired, and we arrived at his house without accident. When he took out his horse, to put him into the stable, he found that the hair from the mane and tail of the animal had been shaved closely off. He brought his surtout into his study, and then it was seen that it had been slit from top to bottom into ribands. I never saw a man more highly excited than brother —. He declared that he would find out the perpetrators of the outrage, and prosecute them to the utmost extremity of the law. He talked this way for half an hour, when his passion began to expend itself, and I said to him, 'Brother —, try on the surtout; it may not be injured so much as you suppose.' He did so; and his appearance in it was so grotesque, that we both burst out into a hearty laugh. I saw that the time was now come to make an impression upon him, and said, 'Brother —, it is evident that the Spirit of God is at work with this people, and this is a device of the adversary of souls to turn off their attention from the subject of religion. You may, I doubt not, find out the authors of this mischief and punish them; but in doing it, you will raise a hubbub, there will be an end of the revival, and souls will be lost for ever. Now my advice to you is this; keep your horse in the stable, feed him yourself, do not take him out even to water. Lay by your surtout in the bottom of your trunk, and do not mention these circumstances even to your wife. The wrong doers will not dare to mention their mischief; and, if we are silent, it will not be known, and they will lose their labor. The parish will continue in quietness, and we shall go on in our work without molestation. We shall thus defeat the adversary of souls, and gain a blessed victory for the Redeemer.' Brother — took my advice. No one ever heard of the occurrence from us; and God blessed the church with a glorious outpouring of his Spirit." This was the manner in which Mr. Nettleton dealt with opposers and persecutors.

When he went into a place to labor, he studiously avoided all ostentation; he did not aim to strike a blow or make a

strong impression by a powerful sermon ; in spiritual tactics, he resembled Washington rather than Buonaparte. He was not ambitious of the reputation of a great preacher ; his heart was set upon doing good. He was so much a spiritual philosopher, that he had disciplined his mind to almost indifference to every thing but what would aid him in his great object. He always had a centre of operations. Knowing the power of association, he usually held his meetings in one place. Like Nehemiah, visiting Jerusalem in ruins alone by the light of the moon, his first business was to obtain a knowledge of the field he was to cultivate, and of the work that was required. Like the great Jewish reformer, he kept his own counsel. His plans were formed with great wisdom, and adhered to with equal resolution. On the Sabbath, he preached strong doctrinal sermons generally written with care ; during the week, his discourses were extempore. He had his own way of awaking the church ; he selected with astonishing sagacity some to co-operate with him ; these were made acquainted with his views of doctrine and mode of dealing with sinners. He believed that every spiritual member would rally, as soon as the sound of going was heard in the tops of the mulberry trees. He seldom preached set sermons to the church. As he usually labored in destitute places, he found the church often in a broken state. Whatever was its condition, his first object was to gain the affection and confidence of his brethren. He was always still and quiet in his movements. He appointed little meetings for prayer ; these were kept comparatively private. His own prayers, in small circles, were remarkably simple and childlike, without the appearance of familiarity. He approached the throne of grace, as a son would come to a father.

He was modest and retiring in his manners ; even this had some effect upon the appearance of the revival. Every one perceived that he felt the responsibility of his condition. His mind was active, and he was quick to notice any effect produced by the truth. If there was no special seriousness in the congregation, his visits would be confined to a few at first. He often remarked that labor was lost by attempting too much. When he went into a family to converse with them on the subject of religion, he spoke in a subdued tone, and to each member separately. Having a quick insight

into character, he was at no loss how to approach an individual. Here he greatly excelled ;—a rare faculty, which few possess. He knew that the consciences of sinners are on the side of truth, and therefore he aimed to get a promise from them to attend at once to personal religion. He would say to a young person, who seemed well-disposed, “Do you desire to see a revival of religion in this place ?” “I do.” “When would you desire it should commence ?” “Now.” “You would wish to share in it ?” “Certainly.” “Then you will pray for it ?” Here most persons hesitate ; he urged prayer under such circumstances, as a means of conviction.*

He never aimed to “break down” sinners, in the sense understood by that expression ; that is, to overwhelm them, so that all delicacy and modesty should be overcome. For that reason, he never approved of calling persons forward at the close of meeting, to seats prepared for the anxious. The effect of his preaching and conversation was such, that he often experienced great difficulty in inducing persons to come to a meeting of inquiry. He would sometimes say, “it can do you no hurt to visit such a meeting ;” but he never urged persons with great earnestness to attend, for he aimed to make these meetings solemn as eternity. His whole appearance and manner were calculated to impress every mind with awe.

He was particularly anxious about the type of the first convert. At the commencement of a revival, he kept back the anxious from a hope as long as possible, that the work might be deep and thorough. If the experience of the first converts was superficial, the whole number would, more or less, partake of that character. He had a plain saying, which was very significant,—“plough deep.”

He was averse to numbering converts, till time had been given to test their true character. More depended, in his

* A case occurred in 1820, to illustrate this point. A young man just completing his professional studies, was induced to accompany some female friends to the pastor's study. He there gave a promise that before he retired that night, he would, on his knees, offer prayer for himself. Possessing strict integrity, when he went to his room, he thought of his promise ; he was embarrassed—he walked the room, in a cold winter's night, till late, before his proud heart would yield ; and when he fell on his knees, such was the struggle in his mind, he said, “He would not, if he could be President of the United States, that any should know he was on his knees in prayer.” There he was awakened, and after more than a week's struggle, he was made willing in the day of God's power. He became, not only distinguished as a physician, but as a Christian and an officer in the church.

opinion, upon the depth of their convictions, the genuineness of the change, than upon numbers. One real convert was a host. Many would see such a moral transformation, and fear and trust in the Lord.

He thought it unwise to visit anxious persons too often. It was his custom to appoint a meeting of inquiry (when there were unequivocal indications of the presence of the Spirit) on Monday evening ; once or twice during the week he would see some of the awakened. He was opposed to all machinery, he relied upon the truth mainly to accomplish the work.

When a good work was fairly begun, his whole soul was engrossed in it. No tender, conscientious physician ever bore upon his mind with more solicitude the critical case of some beloved patient, than did Mr. N. the condition of all who were in an anxious state. Many still living can remember how he appeared in the inquiry-room. Every thing was still as the house of death ; no attempt was made to produce excitement, no unconverted person, however deeply distressed, was called upon to speak in such a meeting. He usually made a few remarks at the commencement, designed to discriminate between seriousness and anxiety, between alarm of conscience and conviction of sin ; and then, in a low tone, he conversed with each individual. As he proceeded, the silent tear, the suppressed sigh, gave indication of a searching hand probing the conscience. What thrilling scenes have been witnessed in some of those meetings ! How many agonized hearts have broken ; how many slowly indulged hopes have been acknowledged ; how many rapturous views of a glorious Saviour have been expressed ; how many new songs have been put into the mouth of those brought out of the horrible pit and miry clay ! Sometimes the place would become a Bochim, a place of tears ; then, like the ante-chamber of heaven. When any considerable number were joyful in hope, he would appoint a meeting for them to relate their conflicts and joys. None were admitted but recent converts. Such meetings might well be described in the language of the apostle, as "sitting together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." A letter received from him in the midst of a good work, may give the reader some idea of the absorbing interest he took in the meetings of inquiry. It is dated Bethlehem, Conn., Dec. 28th, 1824, after his severe illness which broke his constitution.

"I came here a few weeks since to visit an old friend and classmate in his illness, and unexpectedly have tarried till the present time, the absence of a few days excepted. Evening meetings were never before half as well attended as of late in this place. Last Thursday evening, I met about eighty persons in a meeting of inquiry; of whom some were in deep distress, and about thirty-five rejoicing in hope. I cannot endure the labor requisite, especially in this season of the year; and had just been telling brother L—— that if help could not be obtained, I must leave him entirely destitute. For I cannot sustain the fatigue and anxiety inseparable from being conversant with such scenes. I rejoice to learn that you have a revival, and if I could, would send you help."

How he was enabled to endure so much, after the failure of his health, was truly wonderful.

It is believed the appointment of meetings of inquiry, where the awakened might be conversed with individually, originated with him. They have been almost universally adopted. As he conducted them, they were of great service in fixing the character and giving an impulse to the work.

He had some peculiarities, which exposed him to ridicule from the light-minded and profane. He would often spend much time in arranging the benches for meetings in private houses, and be very particular that each one should have a good seat. He knew if persons are not comfortable, they cannot hear with profit. He wished also to make an impression on all, that he expected some result; no one realized more than he the value of every opportunity to do good.

His texts were striking, and when afterwards repeated, would call up some solemn thoughts in the sermon. We give a few of them, in the order in which he often preached from them. Mark 8: 36. Matt. 6: 33. Gen. 6: 3. Rom. 7: 9. Ps. 40: 2, 3. 2 Kings 7: 3, 4. Gen. 6: 5. John 3: 7. Acts 16: 30. Luke 7: 36—50. Prov. 28: 13. Acts 26: 18. Heb. 12: 16, last clause. 1 Pe. 1: 8. Gen. 7: 1. Luke 18: 35. 1 Tim. 1: 15. Acts 9: 1—9. Josh. 20, whole chapter. Eph. 2: 4—7. Matt. 15: 21. Phil. 4: 6. Matt. 25: 10. Num. 10: 29. Matt. 5: 25. Matt. 7: 24—27. Rom. 12: 1. 2 Kings 5, whole chapter. 1 Pet. 2: 15. 1 Cor. 12: 6. 1 John 5: 10. Luke 13: 7. Eph. 4: 3. John 5: 6. 1 John 5: 12. You might learn the progress of the work by the text he selected. In small meetings during the week, he would sometimes place himself at the door, and speak to certain individuals as they went out. His mode of address was peculiar. He used his little Bible with great effect. He was so perfectly acquainted with the state

of feeling among the people, that he always knew what subject to present. He was very earnest in the exhibition of truth. His general deportment was amiable and winning. He was habitually serious, without sanctimony; condescending, without familiarity. He always appeared to be under the influence of benevolent and holy feelings. In the midst of a revival, he had the most solemn manner of any person we ever saw. The writer once called on him during a journey through Connecticut; hearing that Mr. N. was in the place, and that there was a revival in progress, not having seen him for several months, he took pains to find him. He was at a house where were some anxious; as he came out, knowing that some were witnesses of the interview who might be affected, he preserved such an awful seriousness of look and manner, as showed he was absorbed in divine things, and illustrated more than any thing before observed the feeling of the apostle, when he said that he knew no man after the flesh. He had kind social feelings, and loved his friends; but that was not the time to indulge them. The effect of that solemn interview was felt for years.

In his visits from house to house, he was peculiarly careful to leave a deep impression; he therefore conversed but little on general topics, and soon left the house. He knew not only what to say, but when to be silent. Many have been thrown into distress by his apparent neglect. He had a significant way of addressing individuals. While preaching in Malta, where his efforts were signally blessed, he found a young lady, daughter of a deacon, who was very stubborn; she was masculine in appearance, and apparently in the way of the conversion of many young persons; he dreaded her influence. He had a serious, direct conversation with her, apparently without any good effect. When about to leave her, he approached her with a resolute step and look, and said, calling her by name—"Do not think of shutting your eyes to-night without prayer; before you retire to rest, get down on your knees and call upon God; remember, I tell you to do it." This he said with great emphasis. He left her abruptly. She was more offended than ever, and said many hard things against him. When she went to her room at the close of the evening, as he predicted, the struggle commenced. She thought of his words; she was alone; her proud heart resisted, and she exclaimed aloud,

“ What right or authority has he to dictate to me my duty ? ” It rung in her ears, “ I tell you to do it.” “ You tell me ! old Nettleton, I will not do it ; ” but she could not retire. “ Remember, I tell you to do it.” “ Perhaps he spoke by the Spirit ; what will become of me if I refuse ? ” The struggle was long ; she trembled in every nerve. She finally fell upon her knees and cried for mercy. She became an humble Christian, and was instrumental of turning many to righteousness. How many such instances, where he displayed wonderful tact ! Truly the Lord was with him. He was therefore a host. He had but one object, that was—to do good. He knew the importance of keeping the mind intent upon the great subject ; he therefore requested his friends who labored with him to avoid all levity, and, as much as possible, worldly conversation. He watched every cause which might divert the attention.

He often labored in waste places, where he was annoyed by zealous sectaries, who endeavored to stir up strife and introduce vexed questions, to draw away the inexperienced. His self-possession and shrewdness were evinced on such occasions. His main object was to keep the mind of the serious and the church on the great point of personal religion. He never travelled out of the record in his sermons. He preached the truth, as the best method to refute error. He did not attempt to hew down Dagon, but placed the ark of the Lord beside it.

We will give an instance of his skill in managing a difficult case. He was led to visit a town, where the Congregational church was nearly extinct ; it had been weakened and almost destroyed by contention. The meeting house was in the south-east part of the town ; in the centre was a large brick school-house, around which were several wealthy families, and a few professors of religion. There was a M— meeting-house in the north-west corner. The revival commenced in the centre. Erroneous views of religion prevailed. Soon several ministers appeared in his meetings, seeming to claim the field as their own. They made appointments for themselves. Mr. N. kept the minds of the people to the great subject. He told the ministers publicly that he was thankful for help, and would return their kindness, and give them as many sermons as they preached for him. This they did not expect. He made no reference to them in his preaching. There was a large public house, directly oppo-

site their meeting-house, occupied by an excellent family ; this was opened to him, and he preached there regularly for many weeks ; the consequence was that he occupied the whole ground ; more than one hundred were brought into the church he supplied, which has enjoyed a stated ministry ever since.

He was unwilling to strike a blow, unless he could follow it up. If a number are awakened, and go back to stupidity, it is more difficult to reach them a second time. But when he found an opening in a neighborhood, he continued his efforts. While he was laboring in Malta, Saratoga county, N. Y., the work became very interesting in a distant part of the town. He remained there some time, preaching and visiting ; the members of the church near the meeting-house complained that they were neglected, as they raised a large part of the money for his support. He kindly told them that their money was not necessary to him ; but his presence was necessary to those souls who were in distress, and he continued to preach to them. Settled pastors lose much by not being able to act on this principle.

The preaching of Mr. N. was remarkably adapted to the circumstances in which he was placed. He had two sets of subjects, and was careful not to be in advance of the state of feeling in the congregation. If he found there was less interest, he would go back to the discussion of topics calculated to arouse attention and produce conviction.

It may be interesting to furnish one or two specimens of his plan of exhibiting truth in his extemporaneous lectures. His originality appeared both in the plan and the illustrations. One is contained in a letter directed to the writer of this article ; the other he received from his hands. The whole letter, from the matter it contains, the time it was written, and the place, has unusual interest, and will be read with profit.

"Bolton, Conn., Feb. 18th, 1823.

"**MY DEAR BROTHER,** — I do thank you for your short epistle. It contained much to console and animate the heart of a brother. I return this note, not to communicate similar intelligence, but for 'love's sake.' I hope and pray that the good work begun among you may continue. You need much strength to go through another revival. Where sinners have heard much faithful preaching, and witnessed the wonders of redeeming grace, there I have often thought, that revivals generally go by the hardest. Doubtless the sovereignty of God is as much concerned in the bestowment of means, as in sending his Spirit for the conversion

of sinners. Had 'the mighty works' of Christ been wrought at once in Sodom, they 'would have repented,' while among the Jews their only effect was to harden. Are some sinners less wicked by nature than others? Were not Sodomites capable of resisting as great light as did the Jews, had it dawned on their minds in similar circumstances? I do not say it, nor imply it, when I assert the fact, that some sinners are much harder to be converted than others. I once resided in a minister's family, where was a young woman who had heard much on the subject of religion without any salutary effect;—after much fruitless conversation I ceased to warn her, at which she took great offence. I could not refrain from remarking that she had heard enough to convert half Sodom. And I did think it was true. I fear, brother, you will find many such in your congregation. This, by the way, should not operate so much by way of discouragement to exertions, as it should to stimulate to still greater exertions in winning souls to Christ. For the case requires it, and revivals, you know, do follow in quick succession.

"Did you never think how easily the Samaritans seem to have been converted? 'And many of the Samaritans, believed on him for the saying of the woman—He told me all things that ever I did.' That so short a sentence, from such a sinner, should convert so many,—is it not wonderful? I will give you a text, 'Come, see a man which told me all things that ever I did.'

"I. The duty of preachers. It is to tell sinners their hearts—'He told me,' &c.

"II. Preaching which discloses the hearts of sinners is likely to be remembered. It will be remembered and conversed upon, while other preaching and other things are forgotten. 'She saith to the men of the city, he told me,' &c.

"III. The preacher who tells sinners their hearts is not likely to want for hearers. The invitation will be given, 'Come see the man,' &c.

"IV. The conversion of one sinner is likely to be followed by the conversion of others. The invitation, 'Come,' &c., was complied with, and a great spiritual harvest followed, &c. &c.

"I have not strength to tell you what interesting scenes I witnessed last summer in Tolland, Somers, and Wilbraham. You may have seen an account of the revival in Wilbraham, in the *Religious Intelligencer*. Not one half is there told. The distress was awful.

"I have passed through some trying scenes of late. Br. Parmele, one of the most useful men in all this region, during my sickness died in the room where I now sit, and where I sleep. The last sermon he ever wrote, but was not permitted to preach, was from these words, 'Give an account of thy stewardship,' &c. Born the same year, in the same town, anxious for his soul, professed religion, entered and left college at the same time, he was my nearest brother.

"It is more than three months since my confinement. For about forty days, I was unable to sit up for one moment. I had every reason to conclude that it was my last sickness. Dear Mrs. P. was constantly seated by my bedside with a Bible in her hand, and often with a fan. As I had been so recently in an interesting field of labor, I was, in my deepest distress, in the midst of revivals. The singing sounded sweetly indeed. The tune, 'Loving-Kindness,' ran through my mind over and over again, thousands of times, connected with the two last verses of the eighth hymn of the *Hartford Collection*. This I often mentioned, as also the 324th. Your candor will pardon my weakness in relating

such little things, when you reflect on the fact that our muscular and mental energies often fail together. I recover very slowly. The many letters which I have lately received, congratulating me on the return of my health, and urging me to enter the field of labor without delay, have given me much pain. I have neither strength to preach, nor even to answer one half of these friendly letters. For ten days, I have been stationary,—my friends say, retrograde. I can sit up but a little while at a time. It is a great work for me to write this letter. I shall not be able to preach before summer, if ever. If I am able, shall first resume the work I left unfinished—the collection of hymns. It is more difficult than you can imagine. I can by no means satisfy my own mind, much less the minds of others. The hymns I want are not in existence. Do keep your eye on this subject; do name some, and send me all you think worthy of insertion. I must leave out many superior hymns, because the subjects are not wanted.

“The revival which commenced in this county [Tolland] last summer is spreading into a number of towns. In North and South Coventry, it is now advancing gloriously. About 90 in the former, and say 30 in the latter, are lately rejoicing in hope.

“Let me hear from you soon, and send some original hymn on the subject of revival. I am exhausted—pardon my haste, and believe me yours, in the best bond,

ASAHEL NETTLETON.”

“P. S. My love to all my friends, and if any think me partial for writing to you, and not to all who have favored me with their kind letters, tell them I have not strength to write one half of them, were I to spend my whole time and do nothing else.”

This letter lets us into the recesses of his generous heart. It shows his “ruling passion strong in death.” He who thus shows himself friendly, will never want friends. We promised another specimen of his plans for a weekly lecture. It is evidently a rough draft, not fully arranged. The thoughts are striking and forcible. Such sermons must reach the conscience.

“Matt. 23: 30. And say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.

REMARKS.

1. Sinners may mistake the character of their own feelings. [The Jews] At the foot of Sinai, said, would do so—soon made a calf. Peter—I will not deny thee—Disciples—command fire—ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. Hazaël—dog, 2 Kings 8: 13. Heart deceitful—who can know it? Herod said he had been desirous to see Jesus, &c.

2. Sinners may think that they are better than others, when they are in heart opposed to true religion. Text.

3. Sinners may do much and profess great respect for religion, when they are totally opposed to true religion. Text—Build the prophets’ tomb, and hate the prophets’ doctrine.

4. When sinners say they never were opposed to God, it is no evidence against the doctrine of total depravity.

5. If they never have seen that they were totally depraved, they have reason to fear they are still ignorant of their hearts, and have never yet been thoroughly awakened. Text.

Words betray hearts. When they most seek to cover their hearts, they most expose them.

1. What they did. Built anew, at their own expense, the tombs, &c.

2. Protested against the murder of the prophets. If we had been in the days of our fathers—we had never consented to the silencing of Amos, the imprisonment of Micaiah, to the putting of Hananiah into the stocks, and Jeremiah into the dungeon, to the stoning of Zechariah, and the mocking of the messengers of the Lord—no, not they! They would sooner have lost their hands or their lives, &c. What! Is thy servant a dog?—and yet at this very time they were plotting against Christ, to put him to death to whom all the prophets gave witness. They would have heard them gladly—and yet were filled with wrath against Christ.

3. See their enmity—Ye be witnesses against yourselves, v. 31. Their own words and works prove what they are—so now.

Inf.—1. If mankind may mistake their own characters, then the doctrine of total depravity may be true, though they universally deny it. Jews no love to Christ.

2. We see a reason why sinners, when awakened, find themselves so much worse than they had ever imagined themselves to be.

3. Why they act worse in certain circumstances than they imagined, &c."

His preaching was peculiarly calculated to produce conviction. The hearer felt an invisible hand, searching his heart. His labors during a revival were incessant; his whole soul was engrossed in the work. As a revival is the time of great light, it might be expected that he would acquire uncommon knowledge of God's method of saving sinners, by being so continuously in the midst of such stirring scenes. A valuable little volume of his remains might be collected, resembling those of Cecil and Mason, which would be equal to either, and even of greater service to the ministers of the gospel.

Were we to attempt to give a full view of Dr. Nettleton, we should speak of his physical, intellectual, moral and religious character. Dr. N. had a vigorous physical constitution; which was rendered robust by early labor on a farm, and continued in vigor by systematic abstemiousness. He was not tall, was firmly built, slow in his motions, dignified in his deportment. His countenance was expressive of his character; his forehead was high and broad, indicating deep thought and energy of mind; his eye, when lighted up, was full of penetration; his earnest and solemn look could not fail to impress an audience. He was remarkable for self-

control. He seemed to have few of the weak points of humanity about him. As he was never married, strangers might suppose he had little social feeling. It was far otherwise. Wherever he resided, members of the family became strongly attached to him. He was easy, but simple, in his manners. Children and youth became very fond of him ; he loved to gather around him a circle of young people, especially if they could sing, as he was pleased with sacred music. When he was quiet, his face was not particularly expressive ; but when interested, he had a luminous countenance.

The powers of his mind were slowly developed. This was owing, in part, to his few early advantages. As he was somewhat advanced when he entered college, and doubtless had the ministry in view, he had no time for polite reading, and therefore did not cultivate a classic taste. He was not aware of his own power while in college, and therefore did not extend his studies. He possessed great reasoning powers, and no small degree of metaphysical acumen. He had few equals in ability to detect and refute error. He had great presence of mind, and could, with apparent ease, make an adversary appear ridiculous. His exhausting labors after he entered the ministry, did not leave him time to study books ; but he studied the human heart and the word of God in connection with its exercises, and thus he became in the best sense learned in the Scriptures. He had very original views of divine truth. The uninspired author he most highly valued was President Edwards. He acknowledged himself greatly indebted to Dr. Emmons on the subject of the doings of the unregenerate.

From his youth, he sustained an excellent moral character. His itinerant manner of life often placed him in circumstances of great exposure ; but though never married, and thrown into the midst of circles of youth under great religious excitement, yet no man passed through life more free from any ground of reproach. He was a pure-minded man. He had no littlenesses, no meanness, or duplicity, or selfishness. He evinced no jealousy, no ambition of distinction or of power ; no love of money. He was a man of one object. He loved the souls of men ; to promote their salvation, he was willing to deny himself, take up the cross daily and follow Christ. If a minister possess not high, unsuspected morality, no matter

what gifts may be ascribed to him, his right arm is withered. Mr. N. had the confidence of all his brethren. That made him strong. His religious views and feelings were scriptural and deep. His exercises at the time of his conversion were marked, his hope was clear and steady. He always took time to attend to private devotion. It was affecting to listen to his prayers. Like Enoch, he walked with God. He was a searching, experimental preacher. All felt in his presence that he was a man of God. He lived by faith. He knew the value of time, the worth of souls, and therefore, prompted by the love of Christ, he was always employed.

For wise purposes, he was laid aside in the midst of his usefulness ; he was taken off from active labor ; he was not fully appreciated, till he could not be obtained. The deepest concern for his valuable life was expressed both by ministers and churches in all parts of the land. In the confidence of private friendship he mentioned incidentally, in the letter we have inserted, the affectionate interest taken by many in his health. Very few can realize how great was his trial to be confined so long, while intelligence of the work of God in many quarters reached him. If he could not mingle in those glorious scenes, he could not be denied the privilege of hearing of them. He was kept advised of the state of the churches, which no doubt retarded his recovery. He lived in the prosperity of Zion. His restoration was only partial ; he was never afterwards able to labor as he had done. But for his severe illness and protracted feeble health, he had not, probably, found time to write and compile his "Village Hymns," which have proved a signal blessing to the church. "It is a piece of royal magnificence," says the great Howe, "that God can polish an instrument and make it meet for signal service, and then lay it aside, without detriment to his cause." After he lost his health, Dr. N. was still instrumental of accomplishing much for the good of souls.

In addition to his sickness, he was called to pass through some severe trials. These it may be proper to mention. He had deeply studied the history of the "great awakening" in 1740, and well knew the tendency of human nature under religious excitement. About the year 1824, an individual came into the ministry in the northern part of the State of New York. He was an uneducated man, had studied law, and practised some in justices' courts. He was bold and

reckless, full of self-confidence. In the midst of a revival, his mind was turned to the subject of religion. With his characteristic ardor and overweening confidence, he plunged into the solemn scenes ; at first he arrayed himself against the truth, and attempted to break down the minister, but he was soon humbled, and expressed a hope in Christ. Not long after, he left the study of the law, and commenced the study of theology under the direction of his minister. He was licensed to preach with very little preparation. He was thrown upon his own resources, and like all who lean to their own understanding, he has been left to wander from the truth. Several others who came forward, soon after, in the same way, and followed in his steps, have disappeared in disgrace. At first, his preaching was attended with great effect. He was personal and abusive in his prayers (for which, if we mistake not, he was once prosecuted), low and vulgar in his sermons. He managed to retail all the scandal of the neighborhood, in his public services. The result was a revival of wrath and bitterness. He abused the ministry unsparingly. As he had great vigor of mind and remarkable extemporaneous powers, many admired his preaching, and many became his converts. Some ministers of considerable standing fell under his influence. In many things, he was not a little like Davenport in former times. This individual rose upon the church like a meteor ; the unexpected luminary had a long trail, presaging war. When Mr. N. heard of these movements, he was not taken by surprise. He knew such things had occurred before. He explained the whole, analyzed the elements of the power that was put forth and predicted the result. He was correct in all these predictions. He did not hesitate for a moment to oppose the course to which things were tending. This was attributed to a wrong motive, and raised up against him a host of enemies. Never were two men more unlike. One was denunciatory, the other, kind ; one courted persecution, the other avoided it ; one would drive men into the church, the other was anxious to prevent self-deception, and aimed to keep men from making a false profession. The opponents of Mr. N. adopted many new measures which were made tests of a revival spirit. All were denounced who would not adopt them. These measures, Mr. N. was well convinced, proceeded from erroneous views of truth, and led to superficial conversions. Of the

correctness of these opinions there can be no doubt. However reluctant, he was constrained to publish his views of the danger as well as the error both of the sentiments and the measures. We have no wish to revive the controversy. Mr. N., though weak in body, showed himself powerful in intellect ; and since President Edwards' refutation of Arminianism, there have been few more able exposures of error. It is worthy of repeated perusals. The "new measure" men, as they were called, claimed him at first, as leading the way ; they quoted his example in justification of their course, and used his good name and great influence to give currency to their exceptionable plans. It was not on his own account he felt so deeply at that time ; but he feared the consequences to the cause of revivals which lay near his heart. As his health would not allow him to take charge of a people to conduct a revival, or labor long with a settled minister, he was said to have lost his interest in revivals. His character was treated with little tenderness ; all who sympathized with him, and opposed "new measures," were reviled as the enemies of God. None who did not live in that day, who did not witness the confusion and strife, and hear the thunder of the denunciations, can have any conception of the abuse that was poured out. At about equal distances of time, men of similar stamp have appeared in the church, preaching such sermons and adopting such measures, so that it is important to notice these facts that churches may not be distracted and souls injured. Good is done, in some instances, by such men, but at a fearful expense.

It is evident that the mode in which Dr. Nettleton labored for the conversion of souls, was exceedingly dissimilar to that which has since been adopted, and which has, to a considerable extent, claimed the authority of his example. Dr. Nettleton strove by all means in his power to repress physical excitation ; our modern evangelists strive by all the means in their power to increase it. He kept himself out of sight, and turned the attention of the people away from himself to their own hearts and to God ; they endeavor to turn the attention of the people towards themselves, and to create the belief that without their aid and the adoption of their means the salvation of souls is impossible. He never pronounced upon the safety of a soul, but turned the inquirer to the Bible, and urged upon him diligent and protracted self-examination ;

they decide upon a person's moral state *instanter*, and publicly glory over him as a converted soul, without having taken the means necessary to the formation of a sound judgment. He never admitted members to the church, until time had tested the reality of a moral change ; they admit them as soon as they profess to be renewed, and do this avowedly for the sake of increasing the impression upon others. He never raised the cry of persecution under any aggravation of offence ; they rarely can make any progress in their work, until this cry has been raised and exaggerated to the utmost. He never labored in a place unless desired to do so by the pastor, and, in all his efforts, he acted with the pastor's co-operation ; they claim the right to enter any field whatever, even in opposition to the pastor, and when they have entered it, their first effort is directed to the breaking down of the pastor into entire subjection to their will. He would receive no remuneration, except such as was necessary for his mere support ; they do not, in general, follow this example. He labored, so far as the providence of God permitted, in destitute places where the name of God had not been named ; they choose those portions of the field where the greatest influence can be reaped and the largest emolument secured. If such be the differences in their different modes of labor, the one cannot surely be pleaded as an example of the other.

He was tried and deeply grieved to be obliged to differ publicly from some eminent ministers, with whom he had labored in revivals, whose errors he had attempted to expose in private, and whose views he considered dangerous, as leading to the indulgence of false hopes if embraced by sinners. He had fully tested the doctrines of grace as held by the old New England divines, by Edwards, Bellamy and others, in his own experience and the revivals he had witnessed, so that he was conscientious in opposing these errors. He might have erred in the manner of his opposition, and doubtless experienced the evils resulting from controversy, in his temper and frame of mind. He was assailed secretly and openly ; he expected some of his ministerial brethren would have come to his aid ; he expressed disappointment at their silence ; but the engagements of a pastor will rarely allow him to engage in controversy. His enemies attributed his inactivity to want of zeal, when it arose from want of health. He had, for many years, but little physical strength, and was sorely oppressed with the excruciating disease of

which he died ; and, therefore, he could not labor in a revival. We rejoice that we have in our possession abundant evidence to remove all suspicion from his character on this point. His zeal never abated, but he felt that he was a dying man. We refer to several letters written at different times, in which the state of his health is incidentally mentioned.

"Bolton, April 18, 1823.

" **MY DEAR BROTHER,**—It is now six months since my first confinement, and I have not yet been able to preach a single sermon. I have not recovered my health as fast as my friends have been expecting. Though I can walk and ride some, yet I can neither read, write, converse, nor even sit up but a little while at once, without a severe pain in my side. Though I enjoy the society of my friends, yet I can converse but little without inducing an extreme faintness, which sometimes continues for hours afterwards. Whether I ever shall be able to preach any more, appears quite doubtful at present. But I will detain you no longer on this topic.

" The attention which commenced in this region last summer, is still advancing. In Somers, one hundred and fifty, South Wilbraham, more than one hundred, Tolland, one hundred and twenty, North Coventry, one hundred, South Coventry, seventy-six, North Mansfield, sixty, and in Lebanon sixty, are rejoicing in hope. And in some other places the work has begun and is becoming interesting. On the whole, the present has been the most interesting season ever known in the county of Tolland.

" You have, no doubt, frequently heard from Boston. The work there has been gradually advancing. Brother H—— has been there and spent a month. Dr. B—— called on me on his way to that city, where he intends laboring for another month.

" I have just received an interesting letter from our dear friend and brother Dr. McA——, now in New York. I will give you a short extract. ' I have three exercises on the Sabbath day ; the attention to which has been gradually on the increase, so that my church is now full. I have a lecture on Thursday evening, which at first was thinly attended ; but I have been squeezed out of my lecture room, which holds between five and six hundred persons ; and the lower part of my church, which seats above a thousand, can scarcely hold those who come to hear a man standing on a bench in the middle aisle ! '

" I have an inquiry meeting on Monday evening, at which between fifty and sixty now attend. Eleven weeks ago, I admitted to our communion thirty-two.—We shall have the communion next Sabbath week, and have already examined thirty-five,—how many more will come forward I cannot say ; but there are not less than twenty more, who think they have a hope, and I think about one hundred who are inquiring the way.

" That little pamphlet containing an account of the revival in Saratoga county, N. Y., has been reprinted in Philadelphia—a thousand copies. It has done wonders ! If I mistake not, the petty differences which for a few years past have been foolishly and wickedly perpetrated between good ministers of the New England and other States, are fast subsiding in the growing progress of the spirit of revivals. While we rejoice in the prosperity of the Redeemer's kingdom, let us give thanks together and ascribe to him the glory due to his name.

"I will now tell you why I have written. It is more particularly to obtain from you some information concerning W— H—, of M. He professed religion in the time of the revival there, but, having been previously intemperate, soon fell and dishonored the cause. I have been looking over the field for years past to ascertain some facts on the subject. How many hopeful converts fall a prey to ardent spirits; how many confessions are made, and how few attended with reformation! I write to you rather than to the people in M., because I wish no one there to know of my inquiries. I wrote a letter last summer to Dr. B., in which I remarked freely on the evils above alluded to. And as he had some in his late revival a little intemperate, of the reality of whose conversion he doubted, he took the liberty to read it to his congregation on the Sabbath. The letter is not much, but as he has had applications for copies of it, to meet similar exigencies, he requested permission to send it to the Christian Spectator. In that I alluded to H. in M. Now you will let no one have a hint of what this page contains; and please inform me forthwith, whether Mr. H. has made a confession, or reformed, or been restored or is like to be. Give me all the news you can. My love to your family, and believe me yours as ever.

ASAHEL NETTLETON."

When he speaks of his health in these letters, it is not to meet objections, but to assign a reason why he cannot engage in protracted labors. The evidence is conclusive, and shows the cruelty and uncharitableness of those who accused him of being destitute of a revival spirit. Notice the facts referred to in them. What other man ever had his heart so undividedly fixed on the subject of revivals?

"*Bridgewater, Mass., Oct. 25, 1825.*

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—I received your letter a few days since, was glad to hear from you; but in answer to your invitation, can only repeat the same old story, that the state of my health is still such that I cannot labor to good advantage any where at present. I did not come to T. to labor. I was only journeying as usual for my health; and could preach but little,—just enough to disturb them.

"There are not materials in our own congregation for an extensive revival;—a circumstance which our good people in their calculations seem entirely to overlook. Full nine-tenths of the population in that town, I should think, were out of the reach of evangelical influence. But evening meetings were never so full, by one half, as while I preached there. During the week before I left them, seven or eight came out joyful. Between forty and fifty called to see me one evening, anxious for their souls, of whom, at least sixteen are rejoicing in hope. They do not all belong in T. One is a high-minded female from Boston, a teacher in an Academy; another a student in the senior class in Providence College, on a visit during vacation. I have a thousand things I wish to say, but I have not strength to write. Mr. M. has been preaching there as a candidate for settlement for a number of weeks past—and so I have been journeying again. The people are all pleased, and I think will unite in inviting him to settle; but I fear for the attention.

"I can say nothing favorable about my visiting you. I never expect

to be able to labor as I have done. I am a feeble piece. The alterations suggested by Br. H. in his review of the hymns, I know are desirable, if any one could be found equal to the task. I have noticed that these hymns were principally from Watts, Cowper and Mrs. Steele—the same, too, which are found in all the approved collections of hymns. I have tried to alter them, but cannot do it, so as to appear obviously better. If any one will be so good as to do it, and send me the amendments, they shall be inserted.

"If in my journey, I should happen to call on you, I shall not expect to preach, unless my health be improved; for I am totally unfit for service. May you endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ; and the blessing of heaven attend you and your labors.

Yours in the fellowship of the gospel,

ASAHEL NETTLETON."

There was one peculiarity about Dr. N.; whenever he left a people, he seldom let any one know where he was going. If he came to a place and found they were making great dependence on him, he would leave them suddenly. Some interesting facts are related about his going to Salisbury, Conn., to labor, where he was wonderfully blessed.

"*Litchfield, Conn., January 14, 1822.*

"**MY DEAR BROTHER,**—Yours of the 27th ult. was duly received. You have gratified my curiosity; and now, brother, I thank you, and must say, I do think you was right in erasing what you did from the Narrative. As it now stands, the Narrative meets the most cordial approbation of my New England brethren and friends universally. They think it the best written and most useful document of its size that they ever saw. By this Narrative Dr. M'A. has secured the love, esteem, and, I may add, the confidence too, of thousands in New England.

"It was through your influence, brother, that I visited M—, and was detained almost one year in the county of Saratoga. I shall ever regard that as a kind providence, which led me to an acquaintance with an unknown friend in that region. What a blessing is Christian friendship!—and, above all, that of ministers, 'like-minded.' Would time permit, I would give a detailed account of some scenes through which I have passed since I saw you in P—. I would tell you of the stupidity and excessive levity of professors; and the vanity of thoughtless sinners, with which I have had to struggle in this place. I would tell you too of crowded assemblies, of inquiry meetings, and of about sixty joyful young converts. Of the latter, a number were men, the most unlikely subjects for such a work. Brother B— says, they are the last persons he should have selected. To use his own expression, 'The Lord seems to have selected the very worst materials, to show us what he can do.' The state of things is very much changed among us since the attention commenced. Though every thing has gone by the hardest, yet at length the subject of religion has gained the ascendancy, and has become the topic of discourse and of the deepest interest. Professors of religion find themselves in a new atmosphere. Many have felt what I attempted to illustrate a few evenings since, from these words, 'Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by

the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures? ' Two persons who had been long anxious, went home that evening rejoicing.

" Brother H—— spent a night with me last week. He says the attention is gradually extending itself into a number of towns in the county of Berkshire, Mass. You doubtless recollect the case of the young woman in P——, related in the minister's meeting. On Thursday morning, I think it was, she came out joyful. I inquired the cause of her deep distress, and of her uttering, in a tone of deep, deliberate and doleful accent, these words, ' O—don 't—grieve—away—the—Spirit—of—God.' She told me that she had lost the time, and recollects nothing that passed on earth, for most of three days ;—that the ground of her distress was, as we imagined, conscious guilt in joining with the world in opposing the revival, and resisting her own serious impressions. During this time, she felt that she was lost, and endured all the horrors of the damned. Capt. B. and his wife, where she resided, and who joined in the sport which ended in her torment, shared deeply in distress of soul, and came out of the horrible pit about the same time with her. All made a profession of religion together, and appear well.

" I have a thousand things to say, but find neither time nor patience to put them on paper. You doubtless knew that Dr. B. had been long journeying for his health. He has returned and begins to preach a little ; and I think of leaving L——d, this week, though he does not know it. I have no particular place in my eye, as my health is feeble. Direct your next to L——d, peradventure I should vanish out of your sight. I will think of the hints in your letter, though I never expect to accomplish much by writing or talking. My regards to Mrs. ——.

Yours as ever, ASAHEL NETTLETON."

The " hints," to which he referred, so far as now recollected, had respect to the subjects to be presented, together with the best method of conducting a revival. It is to be regretted that he did not prepare such a work. A very good substitute may be found in Dr. Humphrey's Letters to his Son. The writer also urged him, but in vain, to prepare notes on Bunyan's " Holy War," which Dr. N. considered one of the best books for a minister to study in a revival.

" *Milford, Conn., April 22d, 1822.*

" **MY DEAR BROTHER,**—Shortly after I wrote you from L——d, I left that place for New Haven, where I resided for several weeks, preached about twenty times, and attended a number of inquiry meetings. The state of things in New Haven was truly interesting, meetings crowded and solemn, and at one inquiry meeting about one hundred and sixty attended, and within a few days of each other, between twenty and thirty were rejoicing in hope. Of these, six were students in Yale College. Dr. B.'s son in the senior class, the best scholar in College, is among the rest. For the time, I do think the excitement was as great, if not greater than it was at the commencement of the revival there eighteen months ago. At this interesting crisis, my health failed, and for five weeks I was laid aside useless, and for ten days confined to my room. Many in deep distress of soul called to see me, and so I continued little meetings for

inquirers for a while, until the physician interdicted all company entirely. This was somewhat trying. No extra meetings being held interim, the attention has been gradually subsiding.

"Four of the interesting young converts of the former revival in New Haven have finished their course. Of those nine who were brought out of darkness into God's marvellous light in an afternoon's visit, two have already gone to rest,—one a few days since. The other was S—M—, the youngest of the circle, whose name you may have seen in the 'Youth's Guardian.'

"My health at present is improving, though I have not commenced laboring. I have just rode to Milford for exercise.

"I have often heard from L—d, of late. The good work has been advancing rapidly. At the time I left them, about sixty had become hopeful subjects of divine grace. About a month had elapsed, when brother B. sent the names of thirty-eight new ones who were rejoicing in hope; and last evening I heard again, thirteen were brought out rejoicing last week,—and the inquiry meeting fuller than ever. The good work is going on gloriously in Wilton, in this State. But I did not intend to give you a long letter.

"I will now inform you of my principal object in writing. Either a new Hymn Book, or an amended edition of the 'Hartford Selection' is contemplated. Can you not send me the 'Middlebury Selection,' and mark the hymns which you most commonly read, or which strike your fancy, or interest others. You know that hymns of little intrinsic worth often become quite popular, and perhaps useful to a certain class. If you have any other pieces which you like or others like, and are not in the Hartford Collection, send them, or tell me where they may be found. Middlebury Collection is not to be found in this region, and I recollect you had it. Please envelope it, and direct to me at New Haven, as soon as you can look it over; leave some marks in the index. Perhaps Mrs. —— has some favorite hymn. Fail not to write soon, and tell me all about M—, and give me all the news you can. You will pardon my haste. My regards to your family and all my friends, and believe me ever yours,

ASAHEL NETTLETON."

He always took a deep interest in the welfare of the churches where he had labored. He was possessed of the kindest feelings; and while he had a peculiar faculty to strengthen the ties between the people and pastor if he assisted a settled minister, at the same time in a wonderful degree he secured the affection of the converts.

Like all good men and eminent ministers, his trials increased as he became meet for heaven. He suffered much from pain of body, but also, as we have seen, from errors which sprung up, both in faith and practice, which from his interest in revivals and regard for the glory of God, he felt bound to expose and resist; which involved him in controversy. He dreaded fanaticism and radicalism, and had witnessed the evils of Arminianism. With his views and experience, he could not well do otherwise than he did. It would not be strange if at times he leaned to the other extreme. A shrewd man once

said of him, "he is so much afraid that fire will be put under the sacrifice, he is hardly willing that it should come from above." There was more point than truth in the remark. We may gather what reason he had for solicitude on this subject, from a letter written not many years since.

"*E. Hampton, Conn., Feb., 1838.*

"**MY DEAR BROTHER,**—Your very fraternal letter of the 19th of November last, was duly received, but I delayed an answer for reasons which I will state. In consequence of feeble health, attended with an affection of the throat—bronchitis—I have been compelled for a number of years past, to seek a warmer climate, during the winter season, and had made my arrangements this season accordingly. About the time your letter arrived, I received a pressing invitation to visit this place—recently become vacant and made waste by a series of protracted meetings and revivals of modern stamp! I started, bag and baggage, to go south via East Hampton and P—, in case my hoarseness, which was then severely upon me, should continue. On my arrival here, I was pretty much confined to the house with my old complaint. Meanwhile, the —— had commenced a protracted meeting—taking advantage of the destitute state of the Congregational church, and seemed to be carrying all before them. Our good people gave up all as lost to their society, and were determined to do nothing. In this state of things, I invited the young people to visit me at my lodgings, not because they were anxious for their souls, but because they were not. And so with the middle aged. The state of things is now very singular. Many, both of the —— and our own church, are now all unconverted, and declare that they never before have had any conviction of sin, or any idea of regeneration. One man, who came out among the —— seven years ago, and was pronounced 'the brightest convert ever known,' and prayed and exhorted in meetings, has been in awful distress of soul, and is now exceeding joyful. He declares that he never before knew any thing about conviction of sin, of hardness of heart, or of regeneration. His conversion has frightened some, and confounded others—Acts 9: 21, 22. He tells them they are all wrong. His wife, who has been hoping for years, has given it all up; and her heart quarrels awfully with her husband's conversion. And she too is telling her old friends, whose conversion was like her own, that they are all wrong. But their ministers are on the alert, trying to daub the wall again, Ezek. 13—and I fear how it will terminate. The materials here much resemble those in Malta, in 1819. Many of the people have done a —— conversion, you know, and afterwards they declared to me that they had never before known any thing about true religion. 'Did you not think at that time that you had experienced religion?' said I, to a member, who, seven years before, had exclaimed in transport, Glory to God! 'Yes.' 'But what made you think so?' 'Because the ministers told me so, and I thought they must know,' was the reply. And so is it in this place. But what grieves me most is—that the same kind of religion is now running among our own denomination. The religion which multiplies under the modern doctrines and measures, I do know is the very same as that which I have always regarded as spurious. There is no more fellowship between those who are converted under the two opposite systems of doctrine, than there is between light and darkness, Christ and Belial.

Some in our own church think they have been awfully deluded in this matter, and are now greatly distressed. One young lady, whom I have employed to invite the young people to visit me, has come to me saying, 'Mr. N., I know I have never experienced a change of heart,' and urged me to permit her to come into the circle with others. I objected, on the ground that other professors, who are in the same state of mind, will claim the same privilege. But she is now rejoicing in hope. Her relatives and friends say 'we must think that M—*' had experienced religion before.' But she will have it that she never did.

"One of our professors was called up on Sabbath evening in dead of night, and went over a mile to visit his brother and wife and wife's sister, once converted, all in awful distress of soul.† But I forbear. I cannot express my compassion for this people. I can preach but little; and have urged them to obtain some one who can labor more. In case I depart, they will let all go down together. I should not have been thus particular, but for an apology for not writing before. My love to all your family, and to Dr. W.

Yours very truly,
A. NETTLETON."

The writer read parts of this letter to his people, then in an interesting state. It need hardly be said, that a great effect was produced. Such facts as are contained in it, ought to be spread out before the churches. Are we not furnished with one great reason of the general declension of religion throughout the land? False conversions, without doubt, have been most fearfully multiplied.

Another letter was received from him about a year afterwards, showing most conclusively the utter groundlessness of the charge that he had lost his interest in revivals, and that his usefulness was at an end.

"*Elizabethtown, N. J., March 2d, 1839.*

"**MY DEAR BROTHER**,—Yours of the 25th ult., is received. I do exceedingly regret that I should so long be deprived of the pleasure of making you a fraternal visit, if nothing more. When I started for the south, my old complaint, bronchitis, was hard upon me. I visited my old friends in Jamaica, Long Island, where I labored in a revival twelve years ago; and preached and conversed but little. A new generation of youth came around me, and begged of me to stay, to my utter astonishment. I have since received a line from brother C—, their pastor, in which he says, 'The Lord has indeed manifested his power and glory in the midst of us in a most surprising manner. On Monday evening, 25th inst., I had my first published inquiry meeting, when at least ninety were present, of various ages and of various stages of seriousness; already more than twenty express hope of salvation through the Lord Jesus Christ. My three daughters, &c., naming about ten or twelve of the very youth who came around urging me to stay,—are among the converts. For the time, and the fewness of meetings,

* She is a daughter of the former minister of this place; who came in during a protracted meeting about a year ago.

† These are among our first families.

they regard it as unexampled among them. He urges me to come on without delay; but ill health has confined me to the house, and mostly to my bed for some days past. And what is more, there is awful solemnity in this town. I preached a few times, and a number have come to inquire what they must do to be saved, and some are now rejoicing in hope, four in one house. Brother M—, with whom I reside, is confined to his bed with bilious fever. Thus, my brother, the matter stands at present. I hope to be able to labor some, but I do not see how I can leave this place just now. I know you will not think it strange, that I do not leave this place at this crisis. My heart's desire is to labor with you once more, *Deo volente*, in the great work of the gospel ministry. The Lord be with you and bless you in the gospel of his Son. Love to your family,

Yours in the best of bonds,

A. NETTLETON."

These letters give us a better insight into his feelings and character than any thing we could say. Such as he appears in these, he was till his death. No words can express the loss which the church sustained by his removal. Not only a bright and shining light was quenched, but one which guided many ministers in duty, and many souls to heaven.

His last long and painful illness, by which he was confined to his bed for many months, did not, as has been intimated, weaken his mind; it rather quickened his graces. The writer made a visit to him, and can never forget his deep seriousness, cheerful hope and submissive spirit. His Greek Testament and a volume of Edwards lay upon his bed. He had done with earth, but he loved the church; he wept as we entered the room; all the thrilling scenes we had witnessed together came up to our minds; we conversed in tears, and prayed, we trust, in the Holy Ghost. "Let me die the death of the righteous, and my last end be like his."

His protracted sickness gave him time to review his life, especially the stand he had taken in relation to "measures" and doctrines; and he died in the full belief that he was right. An unbiased posterity will give their verdict in his favor. His influence on the church has been wide and conservative; the circle will extend with coming generations. He was raised up to perform a good work; having accomplished it, he fell asleep. His character and his virtues are now placed "under the seal and safeguard of death and immortality."

ARTICLE V.

MORAL RELATIONS OF REPUBLICANISM.

If it be true, as it doubtless is, that the character of a government is materially influenced by that of the people over whom it is exercised, it is no less true that the government re-acts upon the people, and exerts a most important influence in moulding their characters and shaping their destiny. The nature of the influence thus exerted depends partly on the character of those who occupy the high places of authority, and partly on the relations recognized as existing between the rulers and the ruled. On the former of these, it is unnecessary here to enlarge. The influence which men in high official stations exert on the mass of the community is a subject which has been illustrated so often, and exhibited in so many different lights, that it is familiar to almost every mind.

But there are relations between different forms of government and different traits of moral character, which exist and act irrespective of the moral standing of the individuals by whom the government is administered. The traits of moral character which find in a monarchy a soil adapted to their growth and development, are not the same with those which find a congenial soil in a republic. The great principles which lie at the foundation of the different systems of government, are based on real or supposed facts respecting the nature of man, and the relation which one human being sustains to another and to the community collectively. These principles differing widely, as they do, in different forms of government, make their appeal to different parts of our moral nature, present to the mind different classes of motives, and demand the exertion of different faculties. They therefore affect the powers of the mind and the feelings of the soul in different ways ; and while they do not destroy individuality of character, they leave upon the national mind their impress broadly and distinctly marked.

In regard to nearly all the means by which forms of government influence character, republicanism stands by itself, —having comparatively little affinity with any of the other

systems which profess to define the relations subsisting between the ruler and the ruled. We may therefore expect to find this form of government exerting an influence differing materially both in character and results from that exerted by any other form. What, then, is the moral influence of republicanism? What propensities does it tend to cherish, and what to subdue? And what relation do these propensities hold to moral excellence?

Before proceeding to examine these subjects of inquiry, it may be proper to remark, that however strong may be our preference for a republic over other forms of government, and however strong our confidence in its superior excellence in a moral point of view, we have no right to take it for granted that it is superior in every respect. A great portion of the moral evils which prevail in the world, result from the undue action of propensities which, when acting in their appropriate sphere, exert no unfavorable influence on moral character. Not a few also result from a deficiency of the action of those propensities, which were intended to operate as restraints upon some one or other of the impelling principles of our nature. It need not, therefore, be surprising, if we find that a republican form of government does not tend, in all cases, to keep the moving and the restraining, the impulsive and the conservative powers of the soul duly balanced. Perhaps in the present lapsed state of human nature, it is impossible for any system of government fully to do this. Even in associations far less complicated in structure, and far less extended in influence, than systems of government usually are, we do not find this completely done. Pastors, teachers, and even parents find, that, in the little associations to which they respectively belong, there are influences which tend to give undue force to one set of propensities or another, and that each has to set a special guard against some one or more classes of temptation resulting from the stations which they occupy, or at least, more or less connected with those stations. We must not, therefore, suppose that to exist in a political association, which probably does not exist in any association on earth.

Again, even should it appear that by frequent appeals to certain propensities, republicanism endangers the subordination of them to principles having a higher claim to authority, still we are not authorized to pronounce that its moral ten-

dencies are, on the whole, no better than those of other forms of government. For, in the first place, the same evil tendencies may exist in other forms of government to a still greater degree; and in the second place, there may be in operation in a republican system, principles unknown to any other system, which will oppose a powerful counteracting influence to those tendencies.

In the investigation of this subject, the first thing which strikes the attention is that great principle which lies at the foundation of republicanism, the sovereignty of the people. Republicanism recognizes no inherent right in any individual to control others. This principle, directly the opposite of that on which monarchy rests, can hardly fail to exert a most important influence on national character. But what is the nature of this influence? That it tends to give firmness, expansion and vigor both to the reflecting and the active powers of the soul, can hardly be doubted. The consciousness of possessing the power to sanction or condemn public measures, and to perpetuate or repeal the decisions of legislative bodies, naturally tends to awaken a spirit of inquiry, a disposition to examine the nature and character of national measures, and to decide upon their good or evil tendency. This spirit is intimately connected with the acquisition of knowledge, and the formation of definite and decided opinions. Nor is the influence of this great principle of republicanism less efficient in producing energy in action, than in giving vigor to thought and decision to character. Indeed, these qualities almost invariably go together. We expect the man who is energetic in action to be at the farthest remove from languid listlessness in the operations of his mind, and from vacillating indecision in the determinations of his will. In addition to this, the demand which republicanism creates for prompt, energetic, independent action, can hardly fail to exert a most important influence on the character. There is an immense difference between an individual accustomed to the contemplation of principles unconnected with any expectation of carrying out those principles in action, and one occupied in laying plans and forming designs which are intended, at some future period, to be exhibited to view in their actual operation and practical results. The former of these is often marked by a fondness for dreamy speculation and useless theories, together with a total want of tact and

efficiency in applying principles to practice, and in bringing truth to bear with force upon the relations and operations of life. The latter is careful to take into view all the circumstances which may affect the operation of a given principle, and anxious to see how it operates in practice. If upon trial he finds that the results of experience do not accord with his theory, his mind is fertile in expedients for discovering the defect, and modifying the principle, or varying the mode of applying it. It is this latter class of character, which the spirit of republicanism is peculiarly adapted to form. The people are the sovereign, and it is the business of the sovereign to devise and to execute. The citizen of a free republic finds no restraints imposed upon the operations of his intellect, his heart, or his will, except such as conscience sanctions. He need not tremble at every step as he advances, lest he should infringe on some antiquated rule, or tread on some reserved right. Nor need he, as he attempts to devise means of promoting the public good, have his aspirations chilled by the thought that he is not one of those to whom his country's welfare is entrusted, and that he is therefore acting out of his proper sphere.

It seems reasonable, then, to believe that the citizens of a republic, other things being equal, will be more energetic in action, and more fearless in carrying out principles to their ultimate results than others; and will therefore wield a mightier agency for good or for evil. But this does not determine the moral character of that agency. The question may rightly be asked, and ought to be fairly answered,—Is there no danger of disastrous moral results from this consciousness of sovereignty? There is danger. The love of independence is natural to man. Even when smothered under the pressure of despotism, it is, as facts have often shown, but a slumbering volcano. It may be concealed, it may be repressed; but it is rarely, if ever, wholly eradicated. Without it, man would be ready to bow his neck to the yoke of the first tyrant who chooses to require submission from him, and to lose the consciousness of personal responsibility and obligation in the idea of submission to authority, however destitute of right that authority might be. But with the citizen of a republic, the danger is altogether on the other side. Encouraged by the very constitution under which he lives, to resist the claims of power unsanctioned by right, and to

spurn the yoke which his fellow-man unlawfully imposes upon him, he is but too prone to be restless and unquiet even under the control of laws which are founded in justice, and which emanate from rightful authority. The consciousness that the sovereignty is in part vested in himself, tends to foster this feeling, and increase its power in the soul. Regarding no earthly being as his sovereign, he may be tempted, in the pride of his heart, to refuse allegiance to the Sovereign of the universe, and to ask, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice?" Conscious of his perfect right to examine and judge of the merit of measures adopted by the legislature of his country, he may be led to claim a similar right in relation to the dispensations of Providence; and thus, instead of confiding implicitly in the wisdom, and submitting readily to the authority, of the great Lawgiver, he may feel a disposition to question the one, and rebel against the other. By the abuse of this principle, therefore, a spirit of reckless and daring hardihood may be formed, prepared to trample on all authority both human and divine. Facts are not wanting in the present state of feeling in this country, to show that this danger is not imaginary. Too often do we see men claiming "to be wise above what is written," and presumptuously attempting to improve upon the regulations established by Infinite Wisdom. The evil has reached our legislative bodies too, and earthly lawgivers have made enactments directly contravening the laws of the Supreme Ruler. For proof of these statements, we need only refer to the wild and startling theories which have recently been broached respecting the organization of society and the social relations of man, and to the laws respecting divorce and the transportation of the mail on the Sabbath. Indeed, to such a degree has the idea of accountability for official conduct vanished from the minds of a great portion of our legislators, that, while they frequently refer to the will of their constituents as binding upon them, the man who thus refers to the will of God, often seems to be regarded as having gone aside from the regular course of legislative procedure.

Another fundamental principle of republicanism is the right of the majority to rule. Without the recognition of this principle, it would be impossible for a republican government to act or even to exist. In a government which regards

all men as equal in a political point of view, and which, therefore, attaches no more weight in legislation to the vote of one man than to the vote of another, the controlling power must, of course, rest with the majority. If the people are sovereign, the greater portion of the sovereignty resides with the greater portion of the people. Nor can the right of the majority to govern be denied, without rejecting also that of the sovereignty of the people. True, that majority may be unwise, prejudiced, or unprincipled. But so may the minority. And an attempt, in a republican government, to place the controlling power in any other hands than those of the majority, would be an experiment little less than suicidal. Wherever the people are willing to try such an experiment, the spirit of republicanism has departed ; wherever they have persevered in it, despotism has been the result.

But after all, it still remains a truth, that the decision of a majority does not, in the slightest degree, affect the moral relations of a question. If a thing is right, the decision of a majority will not make it wrong ; and if wrong, that decision has no power to make it right. And yet here is the very point in which there is danger that erroneous views may tend to weaken the feeling of moral obligation. There is danger that men will forget that their moral relations hold a position infinitely above all other relations, and that to change these is beyond the power of any man or body of men. Most men are not wont to discriminate with sufficient clearness between the domain of conscience and the domain of civil enactments. Indeed, it is not uncommon for conscience herself to be so blinded by false patriotism or party spirit, as to submit without a murmur to many, and in some instances glaring, infringements of her supremacy in her own province. And inasmuch as conscience and civil enactments are each sovereign in their own sphere, their claims must seem to clash, unless we can see clearly that the authority of the one terminates where that of the other begins. In determining questions respecting political qualifications for office, different plans of national policy, and, in general, such topics as do not involve moral principle, the power of the majority finds its appropriate field of action. I have no right to refuse obedience to a tariff law, because I sincerely believe that a better one might have been made ; or to decline acknowledging the authority of the President, because I think that the majority

might have chosen a better man ; or to refuse to pay my share of the public expenses, because I think that there has been a lack of economy in the management of the public finances. My conscience, if duly enlightened, tells me that in respect to these things, the will of the majority is ultimate ;—that if it is the will of God that civil government be sustained, then those, in whose hands the government is, must possess the right of control in relation to those things without which they cannot carry on the government. But when we come to a higher class of relations, to those which subsist between man and his Creator, there the will of a majority is as destitute of rightful authority as that of an individual. The question is then one which belongs exclusively to the province of conscience ; and her voice is the only one which should be heard. But there too often exists a feeling that the decision of a majority has, at least, some degree of influence over the moral relations of actions ; that there are cases, in which the decision of a majority makes that morally right, which, without such decision, would have been morally wrong. Nor is it difficult to trace the origin of this feeling. It being the duty of a citizen to submit to the will of the majority in all cases of legislation which come within the appropriate sphere of civil enactments, the obligation is extended beyond its true limits, and comes at length to be regarded as having force even in opposition to the divine requirements. So strong, indeed, is the influence of this seeming analogy between the two classes of cases, that conscientious persons, when, from a sense of duty they refuse compliance with an iniquitous act of legislation, sometimes experience a feeling of pain, bearing, at first sight, no inconsiderable resemblance to that occasioned by the reproofs of conscience. It is true, there is, in these cases, no consciousness of guilt ; for the refusal was given for the very purpose of avoiding guilt. But the ideas of law and obligation are so strongly and so naturally associated, and the power of early formed and long continued associations over the mind is so great, that it is often extremely difficult for us to divest ourselves of the impressions thus produced, and feeling sometimes seems almost to gain the victory over reason.

Again, this principle is liable to abuse, not only in interfering with the claims of the divine law, but also in infringing upon the free-agency of man. The majority must rule, but

they may not tyrannize. Where, then, is the just boundary of their power? In order to answer this question correctly, it is necessary to go back to first principles. A nation is a body of men associated for particular purposes, and government is appointed by God for the accomplishment of these purposes. God has not, as some suppose, left it optional with man, whether there shall be any such thing as civil government or not. In his word he has sanctioned the exercise of authority by government, and in the constitution and social relations of man he has established the necessity of it. But at the same time, the divine government proceeds on the ground of man's individual responsibility, and, of course, recognizes, as the basis of that responsibility, the general right of every man to freedom from the control of other men. Thus on the one hand the general principle, that man is independent of his fellow-man, is recognized; and on the other, an exception to that principle is admitted in the authority of civil government, and its right, to a certain extent, to control him. Freedom of action, then, being the original characteristic of the race, and the fundamental principle on which man's responsibility to God depends, human government has no right to abridge that freedom any farther than is necessary for the accomplishment of those purposes for which God sanctions the institution of government. Any exercise of power beyond this is tyranny,—is a violation of the rights of man, and an invasion of the authority of God. We come, then, to this general principle. Civil government is an institution sanctioned by God, and intended to promote the security, happiness and improvement of the governed. Where national action is necessary for the attainment of these objects, there the power of the majority may rightfully be exercised. In relation to other cases, they have no power whatever; and a thousand men have no more rightful authority over one than one has over a thousand.

The great mistake in relation to this subject consists in supposing the power to control to be an inherent right of the majority, when it is, in fact, altogether a derived right, depending on the circumstances and relations of the individuals concerned. That partial relinquishment of individual independence, which is essential to the very existence of civil government, is the result, as the term relinquishment itself implies,—of relations, relations established, indeed, by the prov-

idence of God, but still differing radically from all that involves the idea of inherent right, as the terms relative and inherent are in themselves essentially different.

In connection with this subject, the inquiry naturally arises, What are constitutions, and wherein do they differ from laws? There are those who seem disposed to maintain that they do not differ at all. If so, the distinction between them, being merely in name, serves only to mislead, and should, therefore, be abolished. But is it so? Laws are enactments made by bodies to whom that power is directly and specifically committed. Constitutions are not enactments at all. They are systems of principles, determining the amount of power to be exercised by the different departments of government, and the way in which that power shall be exercised. The bodies by which they are formed possess not a particle of legislative power; and should they attempt to exercise such power, they would be justly chargeable with usurpation. Those bodies have power delegated to them for the one specific purpose of framing a constitution, and for that purpose only. Thus does the good sense of the people recognize in practice the distinction between laws and constitutions, however politicians may deny it in theory. Indeed, it seems almost a self-evident proposition, that the source from which legislation derives its claim to obedience, cannot be the same with the laws which are the result of that legislation. To maintain the contrary is scarcely less absurd than it would be to maintain that cause and effect are the same thing.

But when a constitution is once formed, have the people no longer any power over it? They certainly have. They may alter it to any extent they see fit, provided that it is done consistently with the principles which they themselves recognize as established, and that the alteration relates to things which are rightful subjects of public action. They have no right to include acts of special legislation under the name of a constitution; for no one has a right to call things by false names, any more than to tell any other falsehood. But they have a right to alter their plan of government as far as they please, provided that they keep within the limitations already mentioned. If they see fit to form a constitution, or to alter one already formed, so that it shall recognize the right of a bare majority to change it, as one of its general principles, we know of nothing which interferes with their power to

do so, however unwise we may deem such a provision. The subject is one which falls within the appropriate sphere of constitutional provisions ; and such an arrangement would not necessarily render the constitution inoperative or self-contradictory. If this were all that is contended for by those who claim for majorities the power to alter constitutions, the claim would not be very absurd in theory or dangerous in practice. Few states, if any, would adopt such a principle ; and should it be adopted, a short trial would probably be sufficient to show the inexpediency of retaining it.

But this is not all. It is claimed that, let a constitution say what it may about alterations of itself, a majority have the right to annul any particular provision in it, which conflicts with their present views and wishes. Now this is a mistake, resulting from the want of clear views respecting the nature and design of constitutions. The articles of a constitution are not isolated laws, but parts of a system. If the majority see fit to establish the principle as a general rule of action, that the constitution may be altered by a bare majority, let them do so in the proper way, by introducing that principle into the constitution ; but let them not profess to abide by the constitution, and yet claim the right to violate it when they please. That provision of the constitution which determines in what way alterations may be made in that instrument, is, until formally repealed, as binding as any other ; and the principle which would sanction the violation of that provision, would equally sanction the violation of any other, and thus render the constitution a dead letter.

It is worthy of remark, too, that this power has been claimed, not merely for the people, in their original capacity, but for legislatures, bodies to which the people have committed no power whatever, except that of making laws. Legislatures are not the people, they are the agents of the people. In the constitution, the people have directed these agents what work to do, and how to do it. Their work is to make laws, and this work they are to perform according to the expressed will of their employers. That expressed will is found only in the constitution. By what right, then, can those who are the agents of the people to make laws, claim to be agents, also, for an entirely different purpose, that of altering constitutions. As well might I say, that because a man employs me as his agent to transact certain business for him, I there-

fore have a right to alter the written directions which he has given me, respecting the manner in which that business is to be transacted. A correct view of the relations subsisting between legislators and their constituents, would make manifest the absurdity of this idea, which, instead of recognizing legislators as the agents of the people, invests them, in fact, with despotic power.

Another important principle of republicanism, is the freedom of the press. Any censorship over the press on the part of government, is a violation of republican principle. For republicanism requires that the agents by whom the business of government is carried on, should be invested with no more power than is necessary for accomplishing the objects for which government was instituted. But the press is not so connected with the government, that its influence necessarily interferes with the accomplishment of those objects ; and when through false principles, or wilful misconduct, there is any such interference, it can be corrected without infringing the freedom of the press. Any thing of the nature of censorship is therefore unnecessary. But this is not all. Republicanism, as has already been remarked, regards the officers of government only as agents of the people ; and the press is the principal means through which the people learn how those agents discharge their duty. Any attempt on the part of those agents to prevent the people from thus acquiring this knowledge, implies unfaithfulness on their part, as it is manifestly the duty of the agent to afford to the employer every requisite facility for this purpose.

But the freedom of the press may be abused ; it may degenerate into licentiousness. Those who have the direction of this mighty agent may imagine, that because the press is free, they may publish what they please, let it affect private rights or individual character as it may. And when they are made to suffer the penalty attached to their wanton invasion of the rights of others, they may, as has often been done, raise the cry of, "Persecution ! The freedom of the press is assailed." And perhaps too, they may find not a few too un-discriminating to distinguish between restricting the freedom of the press, and protecting those who are assailed by the press, and who therefore are ready to maintain their views, support their cause, and encourage them in their career of abuse and malevolence. All this has been witnessed. And were this

the natural result of republican principles, it might well be questioned, whether a system, producing such results, could exhibit enough of good to compensate for evils so appalling in magnitude, and so extensive in their sphere of operation. But it is not so. The line over which the press must step, before government can interfere with its operations, is definite and plainly marked ; and if some do not choose to see it, or possess optics so feeble as to be unable to see it, that by no means proves that it does not exist. So long as the press employs itself in discussing public measures, investigating general principles, and diffusing useful knowledge, however severely its statements may bear on the conduct of individuals, it is in its own proper territory ; and wo to the hand that, in a republic, is raised to crush it ! But when private character is wantonly assailed, or when principles are advocated tending to the subversion of the laws of moral obligation, the press then treads on ground which the government is bound to protect. For the very object of government is the protection of individual rights ; and in resisting efforts to subvert the principles of virtue, a republican government is only acting in self-defence ; inasmuch as, without these principles, republicanism cannot continue to exist.

Religious liberty is another principle which will be recognized by every consistent republican government. If there were but one creed, or one form of religious worship, which afforded encouragement to virtue, it might be urged, at least, with some degree of plausibility, that regard to its own security and permanency would authorize a republic to require the adoption of that creed, and the maintenance of that form to the exclusion of all others. But this is a position which none but the most determined of bigots would venture to take. Facts show conclusively, that different creeds, and different forms of worship, are perfectly consistent with the cultivation of pure and elevated moral principle. Uniformity of worship, then, cannot be necessary for the accomplishment of the objects for which government was instituted.

We may go farther, and maintain that whenever a republican government interferes with religious liberty, it exerts an influence tending to prevent the growth of some of the virtues most essential to its own stability. For the utmost that government can do in this case, is to enforce external observances, and require professions of belief in certain doctrines.

It cannot change the decisions of the judgment, or the feelings of the heart. But the enforcement of a creed not believed, manifestly tends to encourage hypocrisy and corruption, and of course, to prevent the cultivation of candor, sincerity and integrity ; and that these virtues are essential to the stability, if not to the very existence of a republic, is too obvious to need proof. While therefore we maintain, that for any government to establish any particular creed, or form of worship, is a violation of the rights of conscience, and a criminal interference with the relations existing between man and his Creator, we say that for a republican government to do this, is an act of gross inconsistency, as well as criminality, and that such an act is more preposterous, and therefore less excusable in a republic, than in any other government.

But do we, in thus denying the right of civil government to interfere with religious liberty, give any sanction to the doctrine that government, as such, has nothing to do with religion ? Far from it. It is true, some have endeavored to support such a sentiment, and there have been declamations, long and loud, by the advocates of political atheism, on the duty of the officers of government to have nothing to do with religion, in their official capacity. But the claims of the divine law do not lose their hold on man, when he enters the hall of legislation, or takes his seat in the chair of judicial decision, or executive authority. He is under the same obligation there, as elsewhere, to "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with his God." It is not his duty to compel men, by the exercise of his official authority, to recognize the claims of religion, but it is his duty to exert all the influence which his official station gives him, in favor of the interests of truth and holiness. And the obligation which rests on one, rests on all, collectively as well as individually. Legislative bodies are as sacredly bound as individuals are, to recognize the supreme authority of God in all their proceedings, and to do nothing which in the slightest degree contravenes his requisitions. Strange indeed it is that men should ever have imagined, that the principle which forbade legislative interference with religion authorized legislation in direct opposition to religion ; yet such a sentiment, if not openly avowed, has been more than once exhibited by legislators in practice. The course pursued by our national legislature respecting the transportation of the mail on the Sabbath, is not the only instance of this kind which

might be adduced. The true conclusion would be directly the opposite of all this. If the rights of conscience are so sacred that human legislation may not touch them, then, surely, they are not weakened or changed by the mere circumstance of an individual's acting in a legislative capacity, instead of some other.

National legislation on the subject of religion, is one thing ; public opinion respecting that subject, is quite another. The former is not a proper subject of governmental action ; the latter, it should be the constant aim of government to purify and elevate. By a scrupulous regard to the will of God in all their proceedings, and by the manifestation of a constant and sincere desire to extend the dominion of moral and religious principle, legislators can exert a mighty and most salutary influence on public opinion. The great source of danger in this matter is in a sort of practical atheism, leading men to look upon their political relations as entirely distinct from their moral relations, and to regard the operations of government as matters to be regulated by views of apparent or imagined expediency, and not by the immutable principles of right and wrong.

The question now arises, If there are so many moral dangers incident to republicanism, has it any advantage, in this respect, over other forms of government ? We believe that it has. We think it may be proved, that while the moral dangers of republicanism arise only from the liability of correct principles to abuse, those of other forms of government arise from the natural operation of principles inherent in their systems, and which cannot be removed, or materially modified, without re-organizing those systems. Perhaps it will be sufficient here to compare a republic with a monarchy in these respects.

If in a republic there is danger that the idea of the supremacy of the people will lead to a rejection of the divine authority, it can do so only by a gross perversion of the principles ; for this supremacy relates only to the political affairs and internal regulations of the nation. But in a monarchy, the sovereign often inculcates it as a principle, that the consciences of his subjects are, to a certain degree, under his control. And even where this is not done, the right which he claims to control the religious worship of his subjects, goes to sustain the idea of his right to interfere with divine requisitions.

So too the principle, that the majority must rule, is dangerous only when perverted. When rightly applied, it commends itself to the judgment and conscience of almost every one; as is manifest from the universal adoption of it in voluntary associations. But can the same be said of the government of a single irresponsible ruler?

The same statement may be made respecting the freedom of the press, and religious liberty. There are dangers attending them; these dangers, however, arise not from any natural tendency to evil, in the principles themselves, but from the possibility of their being perverted or misapplied. It is true that, by these principles, an opportunity is afforded for the diffusion of error, as well as of truth. But, to use the language of another, "give truth a fair field in the contest with error, and who ever knew her to be worsted? It is an insult to the majesty of truth, to suppose that she can be aided by the paltry artifices, and crafty plans of politicians, or by the rash and unhallowed interference of earthly sovereigns. Let her stand, as she ever should stand, in her own native dignity, free to pour her light, and diffuse her influence around, by whatever means conscience approves and Scripture sanctions, and the God of truth will sustain her. Let her friends feel that it rests with them to exhibit her in her native purity and beauty, and that they must look for assistance in defending her cause, to no created arm, and they will be prepared to take a position in which the power of God will be enlisted in their behalf. But let them lean on the secular arm for support, and they will be divested of half their strength. Infidelity will whisper that conscious weakness drives them to seek such aid, that without it their cause would sink, and prejudice will hint, that all their efforts are mere matters of policy, cases of bargain and sale,—unconnected with conscientiousness or love of truth; and thus they will lose all the advantages resulting from the unbought, unpledged, independent advocacy of great and noble principles."

Thus far, we have supposed the secular power to be on the side of truth. But what if it be on the side of error? That it may be so, all must admit. That it is, in no inconsiderable degree, likely to be so, cannot be denied by him who duly considers the injurious influence which the possession of power is apt to exert on the human heart, and the opposition which many truths are compelled to encounter from

unhallowed human propensities. Surely, it needs no argument to prove that, when the secular arm is employed to support error and oppose truth, the consequences will naturally be disastrous. There may be, and indeed in every age there have been, a few noble spirits who, sustained by the grace, and encouraged by the approbation of God, have dared to stand for the right, and maintain the truth, unawed by the frowns of a despot. But how is it with the mass of the people under such circumstances? Let the state of things in those countries, where the power of the monarch is still employed to support intolerance and superstition, furnish the answer.

In addition to all this, it may be remarked, that there are certain general influences operating in a republic, which give to correct principles a fairer opportunity to exert their full power, than they enjoy elsewhere. The very nature of a republic encourages investigation and a spirit of inquiry on the part of the people. This it does by furnishing a variety of subjects for thought and reflection, and by recognizing in them the right to decide various important questions, the decision of which, in other forms of government, is vested in one individual, or at most, in a very few. In this respect, there is a marked contrast between republicanism and other forms of government. Hence, as reflection is a most important agent in the discovery of truth and the correction of error, and as the influence of truth is favorable to rectitude, and that of error unfavorable, a republic enjoys, in this respect, a decided and manifest advantage.

Again, intelligence and virtue being essential not only to the well being, but even to the existence of a republic, there are, in such a government, proportional inducements to encourage them. In a monarchy it may at least be supposed, that the ignorance of the people is the safeguard of the sovereign; at any rate, the importance of knowledge to the stability of the government is far less obvious than in a republic. And if the sovereign be vicious, he may feel that a high tone of moral principle, and an enlightened conscience in his subjects, would be altogether incompatible with their regard for him; and thus selfishness may even induce him to oppose the moral and spiritual improvement of his people, from the belief that such improvement would tend to his own downfall. But even leaving this out of view, the facts, that the

prevalence of vice and irreligion in a community, more directly endangers the interests of the people, than those of the monarch, and that, in a republic the power is in the hands of those, whose interests are thus especially endangered, can hardly fail to produce in a republic, increased watchfulness, and a quickened sense of the importance of correct principles and consistent practice.

Perhaps the moral advantages of republicanism over other forms of government, may be stated in a brief summary, as follows :

In a republic, evils result almost exclusively from an abuse of the principles on which the system is founded ; in other forms of government, often, if not generally, from the nature of those principles. In the former, no more power can consistently be exercised by those in official stations than is necessary to accomplish the true objects of government ; in the latter, there are no definite limits, so far as principles are concerned, to the exercise of power. The former cannot blind the public mind, without warring against itself ; the latter can. In the former, freedom of the press, and freedom of conscience, are essential principles ; in the latter, they either do not exist, or are mere incidental adjuncts. The former tends, therefore, to produce watchfulness ; the latter, supineness.

We conclude, then, that while the moral relations of republicanism give us no reason to hope that we shall be safe if we fold our hands in inaction, they are full of encouragement to the watchful, faithful, zealous friend of truth and righteousness. They show him a noble field for benevolent effort and manly enterprise ; presenting no difficulties, but such as diligence and perseverance may, with the blessing of God, remove ; interposing no natural barriers to the progress of truth, and affording many inducements to hope that "he who laboreth" in it, "will receive wages, and gather fruit unto life eternal."

R. A. C.

ARTICLE VI.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Life of Roger Williams. By WILLIAM GAMMELL. Sparks's Am. Biography. New Series, Vol. IV. Boston, 1845.

THE life of Roger Williams is the history of a principle. It may be said of him, as of most great men whose acts are historic landmarks, that his whole existence was the illustration of one idea ; a conception so vast in itself, that it might well task the energies of a master mind to adapt it to practical life, so novel that its author was regarded as an enthusiast and a fool, so alarming that society, unprepared for the mighty truth, spurned him from its bosom and drove him an outcast to the wilderness. Thus has it often been with those who have had the genius to create, the independence to announce, and the courage to maintain, doctrines, which embrace the cardinal elements of truth itself. Prejudice and passion conspire to overwhelm the man or the principle that may be found to differ when tried by the stern ordeal of public opinion. All history, sacred and profane, illustrates this point of human nature.

The apostle of Macedon, in turn the persecutor and the victim, at first appears himself as the embodiment of popular tyranny, and then suffers the vengeance of a dissenting world for daring to promulgate the faith of his divine Master. But Christianity has triumphed. The Protestant reformation, from Wickliffe to Zuinglius, is filled with proofs of how bold a thing it is to deny the omniscience of humanity. One after another, those noble champions of the right sealed their fidelity with their life at the stake or on the battle field. Their principles are now established wherever freedom has a name. The discoverer of America, through taunts and trials of every sort, maintained his great idea, till the shores of new Cathay confirmed the triumph of truth over prejudice. In these examples, the same element is discerned. Independence of character, that feeling which exalts the individual above the

community, which makes its possessor a man and not a mere atom of society, which makes heroes of men and once made demi-gods of heroes, is the moving principle of them all. Possessed of this quality, the actors in these scenes repelled insult by contemning it, braved death by despising it, and triumphed over persecution by a steady adherence to what they believed, and the common consent of mankind has since acknowledged to be true. Thus was it with Roger Williams. Devoted to the dissemination of a single sentiment, and that the noblest which ever fell from the lips of uninspired intelligence, neither persecution, famine nor death could subdue a spirit in which the heroic principle was the cardinal element. With a determination worthy of his glorious cause, he endured every hardship, surmounted every obstacle and persevered unto the end. Alike regardless of threats or entreaty, he labored unceasingly to impress on the mind of his age a truth, which seemed so chimerical as to excite only a pitying smile on the face of his friends, and arouse vindictive passion in the bosom of his foes. The alchymist, laboring night and day to discover the universal alembic, or the astrologer delving deep in the mysteries of occult science, was not more earnest and unwearyed in his search for "the greatest good," than was this man in the promulgation of a doctrine, as strange and startling two centuries ago, as in our day would be the announcement of the philosopher's stone, or an authenticated treatise on the art of divination. But in the mind of Roger Williams there glowed an intense love of freedom, which first, in the society of Milton, Hampden, and Vane, panted for political liberty, at length spread and extended itself to every matter within the range of human comprehension, and finally evolved a proposition perhaps never dreamed of by his former associates, and certainly unknown in the history of the modern world. The substance of this great idea is briefly conveyed in his own expressive language—"soul-liberty."

To adapt his new theory to practical life was to effect a revolution in the existing systems of government; to sever the chain which, since the days of Constantine, had linked theology to the throne; to restore to the free mind the distinctive but longfettered gift of Deity,—free-agency; and in fine, to embody in civil polity that principle, but dimly understood by the Reformers, which, from Wittemburg to Rome,

in the cloister and the camp, had aroused the spirit of all Europe—the right of private judgment.

The entire separation of church and state had already been advocated by a small portion of English dissenters consisting of Baptists and Independents; but the great majority of Puritans still maintained the prerogative of the crown to interpose in matters of faith. Their chief objections to the English church were concerning forms and ceremonies, and these they sought to alter. Persecution had failed to make them liberal or tolerant to the scruples of others.

The right of every man to worship God according to his own conscience, untrammelled by written articles of faith, as well as unawed by the civil power, implies a degree of advancement in moral science and political philosophy, utterly at variance with the tone of feeling in that age. If to this assertion of natural right we add the denial of any power in civil government to inquire even whether a citizen believes in the existence of God, we have a proposition far more bold than many which had already led a host of martyrs to the gibbet and the stake.

Yet this was the sentiment which, in those days of political darkness, Roger Williams had the clearness to discover, and the courage to defend. He dared assert the freedom of the soul.

Thus was introduced a new principle in political science, by eradicating an old element of civil polity. The church was no longer to be a portion of the state, and the state must undergo a thorough re-organization when deprived of its powerful auxiliary. Roger Williams saw that government could be more efficient in its object and more just to its citizens, if independent of the church; and he knew that the church could best sustain its spiritual nature, when freed from the clogs of state. Religion, ethics and politics, as now received, are alike indebted to him for their fundamental principle.

Yet plain and immutable as these truths appear to us, they were but dimly comprehended by the wisest statesmen two centuries ago. Their exponent was driven to found a new state, which should illustrate the great principles for which he contended.

From England he fled to Massachusetts, expecting to find

sympathy among those who had suffered with him in a common cause. But affliction, which should serve to soften the heart to the sufferings of others, seemed only to increase the acerbity of the Puritans. Even among the ministers of Christ, from whom he might expect forbearance, if not kindness, he met his most virulent enemies. By their influence, he was banished to Rhode Island. At the head waters of the Narragansett he founded a city which, in gratitude to his supreme deliverer, he called Providence. Here his long fettered soul breathed free.

Amid the vast forests of America, he could rear a temple of liberty, consecrated to "the Lord of the whole earth," beneath whose ample roof Jew and Gentile, bond and free, might worship according to the dictates of his own conscience. His principles have triumphed. What was then a doubtful problem to all but him, is now an established axiom in religion and government. Silently but swiftly the great truth has extended. Rhode Island has given a law to the world, and already one continent has received the doctrine of *perfect religious freedom*.

Such are some of the reflections suggested to our mind by a perusal of Professor Gammell's "Life of Roger Williams." We have examined this work with great care, in connection with the standard authorities on the early history of the country, and are struck with the accuracy of its narrative. We have discovered but one error of date. This is contained in the Appendix, where it is stated that the earliest edition of the "Laws of Rhode Island" now extant, is that of 1745. Mr Bancroft has made the same mistake. The earliest edition now existing is probably that of 1719, a copy of which we have seen in the library of the Hon. Peter Force, late Mayor of Washington. But this error is unimportant in its relation to the argument in connection with which it appears, and we note it as the only inaccuracy of the work.

Professor Gammell has displayed a happy faculty of presenting the incidents of daily life, devoid of that monotony too common with biographers. He has thrown an air of pleasing interest over the narrative, blending the mere detail of history with the broader discussion of principles, so that, while we feel familiar with the hourly routine of Williams's life, we are unable to point out the passages whence we derive this intimate knowledge. This is, to our mind, the highest

and at the same time the rarest gift of a biographer. No files of letters, manuscripts, and other papers, "of no value to any but the owner" or his panegyrist, which render the majority of memoirs as dull and useless to the reader as a bale of state papers or a pile of "public documents," are here inserted to mar the beauty of the narrative. The life of Williams abounds in incidents of wild adventure, not unadapted to the genius of romance. All the strong qualities which distinguish the heroic age were displayed in his singular career. The unity of idea and singleness of purpose, the vigor of conception and energy of execution, the courage, constancy, and stern devotion to principle which mark the heroes of midæval fiction and the martyrs of other times, were all exemplified in Roger Williams. These traits Mr. Gammell has not failed to portray in the bold outline of the original.

Such qualities, brought in contact with the savages of America, could not fail to produce a constant succession of adventures akin to the wildest fancies of romance, and the graphic recital of those scenes gives to this work the interest of historic novel.

Mr. Gammell wields an eloquent pen. He describes the sufferings of his hero in language of deep and earnest feeling. He develops the leading sentiment of Williams's life with the zeal of one imbued with the true Rhode Island spirit; to whose mind the richest of all human treasures is that "undivided independence of the soul," in support of which his state was founded.

With a candor which the subject demands, he shows up the noble forbearance of Williams in bright contrast with the relentless hostility of the Puritans, while, with the Christian courtesy which animated his prototype, he fails not, in every case, to exalt their eminent virtues. Of this subject we shall speak more fully hereafter.

The dissensions of the young republic are displayed in a manner which calls to mind the fierce democracies of Greece. It should be remembered that the government of Rhode Island was for some years a mere voluntary agreement, entered into by the few who resorted thither for conscience' sake. It was more nearly allied to a pure democracy than any state of modern times. The different settlements within what are now the limits of the State were independent of each other; but all

animated by the same intense love of freedom, civil and religious. As early as 1640, the inhabitants of Providence "did, to the number of near forty persons, combine in a form of civil government, according to a model drawn up by some of themselves, as most suitable to promote peace and order in their present circumstances." At the same time, a like movement was made on the island of Rhode Island, and one of the earliest acts on the State records declares, "that the government which this body politic doth attend unto in this island and the jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our Prince, is a democracy or popular government; that is to say, it is in the power of the freemen, orderly assembled, or major part of them, to make or constitute just laws by which they shall be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man." This entire freedom in civil things was afterwards granted to them by the parliamentary charter obtained in 1643. The same liberty was enjoyed during the Protectorate, Cromwell writing a letter to the colony in 1655, saying, "You are to proceed in your government according to the terms of your charter;" and it was finally confirmed by the royal charter of 1663, which continued in operation until the adoption of the present constitution two years ago. These charters united the different settlements into one colony, and secured to the people a popular form of government and the unrestricted right of conscience.

So free were the civil institutions of the State, and so distinguished was it for its unequalled liberality in spiritual things, that it became speedily a refuge for all who fled from tyranny or persecution.

In an inquiring age, when the minds of men were agitated by new and startling theories in religion and government, when the progress of liberal sentiments was awakening to fresh life the dormant energies of the old world, and urging its oppressed people to seek an asylum in the new, when education was becoming more diffused and philosophy was no longer confined to the schools, or the elements of polity to the court, when men had begun to think for themselves, and dared to question kingly prerogative and priestly assumption, when all Europe was embroiled in wars and distracted by revolutionary sentiments, it is not strange that crude, grotesque and unstable notions should blend with the essential truths which

lay at the bottom of all this commotion. Novel ideas were started, new sects were established, secret societies abounded, and those phenomena which ever attend a transition state, and which, in this case, were a continuation of the movement of the preceding century, were every where apparent. The remarkable features in the moral and intellectual development of this age remind us of those supernatural events recorded by Josephus, presaging the destruction of Jerusalem. The throes of Europe were not all in vain. The ultimate result of this mighty awakening of moral and physical power has been the weakening of the unholy alliance of church and state, and the breaking up of the ancient hierachal and imperial systems. Every where has this been more or less the case. Though many nations still retain the visible forms of old subserviency, neither prince nor prelate can now assert "the divine right" with that boldness which once laid France under interdict, and humbled united Germany at the feet of a despot.

We have said that America was the resort of many, whom the turbulence of the times had driven from their native land. Most of those who came to New England were actuated by religious motives in their immigration. But even here in Massachusetts, the doctrine of conformity was rigidly maintained; and the dominant sect lorded over the consciences of all with the zeal of king James and the firmness of Elizabeth. Many there were who could ill brook the tyranny of this new hierarchy. They heard of the heretical colony, where every man might think as he pleased, where religion was liberal and government free, and where the only requisite of citizenship was "obedience to laws made, in an orderly way, for the public good, by a majority of the inhabitants, masters of families, only in civil things." They came to Rhode Island. Such were the spirits which Roger Williams gathered around him. Every variety of character and every shade of opinion, political and religious, was represented in the colony. Elements like these formed a fitting arena for the exercise of the highest attributes of statesmanship. It required a degree of moral influence, an ability and a patience possessed by few, to unite all these discordant elements in one harmonious system. The early legislative assemblies of the colony presented a scene of stormy debate and fierce contention not unlike those which, in primitive times, have rendered the forum of Thermopylæ illustrious by the angry feuds of the

Amphictyons. The Grecian republics were scarcely more turbulent in their popular deliberations, than the earliest of modern democracies.

But amid these scenes of bitter strife, where every little difference assumed a personal aspect, and in an age when harsh invective held the place of sober argument, with the persecution of Massachusetts on one hand, and wily savages plotting destruction on every side, the spirit of Roger Williams remained calm, resolute, determined. His soul rose above the petty strifes which distracted other members of his colony, and sought, in the true spirit of piety, to promote peace with all men. In every act of his life we may trace the object of his being,—his only motive, to secure to mankind “soul-liberty.” For this he lived, labored, and prayed, well knowing that this truth once established, and men left free in their allegiance to God alone, spiritual Christianity would work out its own supremacy, God would be honored, and man be exalted.

Those who sought refuge with him, however they might differ among themselves in minor points, and even some few be disposed to abuse the civil freedom they enjoyed, were all united in cordial support of the cardinal doctrine of their leader. This was the peculiar spirit of the colony. It has ever been the Rhode Island creed. With a consistency unshaken by the strifes of party or the convulsions of war, that State has never swerved from the high position she first assumed. It is her proud privilege, to show more than two hundred years of legislation, unmarred by a single departure from the principles of her illustrious founder. She has been taunted with irreligion, reviled as disorderly, and her citizens outlawed by those who were jealous of her freedom, or incapable of comprehending the primordial causes of her settlement. But to the mind conscious of right, insults of this sort are harmless; they will only be regarded by those who feel a doubt of their own correctness, to whom insolence assumes the appearance of reproof. Placed in so isolated a position, maintaining principles before unknown in the history of government, and surrounded by active and uncompromising opponents, the peculiar influences to which they were subjected, could not fail to produce an independence of character, a strength and originality of mind, which distinguish the fathers of Rhode Island; and the effect of which, even at this day, may be seen among their descendants.

The devotion of the State to the doctrine of religious freedom is evinced in her earliest act of voluntary incorporation, by the explicit use of the words "only in civil things." The substance of this act we have before given. It is sustained by her first legislative enactment, passed in May, 1647, in the terms, "all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God." It was confirmed to them in both their charters, in express language. In the charter of Charles II, the privilege is conveyed in a form so full and remarkable that we may be excused for citing it at length. After stating it to be the earnest desire of the people to be allowed "full liberty in religious concernments," and that there were many among them who could not, "in their private opinions, conform to the public exercise of religion according to the liturgy, forms and ceremonies of the church of England, or take or subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf," the charter proceeds to guaranty; "That no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences of opinion in matters of religion, and do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said colony; but that all and every person and persons may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgment and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others; any statute, law, or clause, therein contained, or to be contained, usage or custom of this realm, to the contrary hereof, in any wise, notwithstanding." Every subsequent revision of the laws embodied the same universal toleration.

Charges of inconsistency with their great principle have in two instances been brought against Rhode Island; but these charges have been carefully examined and clearly refuted. A brief abstract of the examination is contained in the appendix to Professor Gammell's work. It might have been well, if Mr. Gammell had discussed more fully this portion of his theme. There are not wanting those whose malignant spirit would lead them to traduce the fair fame of Rhode Island; and for such persons a more extended view of the

proofs upon which the falsity of these calumnies is established would be desirable. But this matter belongs more properly to the history of Rhode Island than to the life of its founder ; and for this reason, perhaps, the author has refrained from presenting the whole subject.

We have now shown how steadily, from the first settlement of the State down to the present time, this fundamental principle of religious freedom has been maintained. In doing this, we have followed the plan of the work before us. It has necessarily led us somewhat away from our immediate subject ; but it is a digression essential to a proper understanding in what manner and with what success Roger Williams adapted his new theory to practical government. We may here allude to the fact that other states have claimed precedence in the announcement of this doctrine of "soul-liberty ;" but the honor belongs to Rhode Island alone. Lord Baltimore founded his colony in 1634, and established Christianity on the basis of the old common law. He allowed no supremacy to any particular sect, and therein is deserving of high praise. But Roger Williams went much farther, and denied the right to establish Christianity, or any other form of religion, by law. The Jew, the Pagan, and the Christian, according to his system, would be alike protected in their political rights and religious enjoyments, so long as they fulfilled their civil duties.

Again, the first law of Maryland securing toleration was passed in 1649. The first statute of Rhode Island provided for liberty of conscience, and was enacted in 1647 ; so that Rhode Island has in fact the priority of date and the superiority in the liberality of her provisions. Both were far in advance of the age. The great distinction between them appears to be, that in Maryland there was toleration to all who bore the name of Christian ; in Rhode Island, there was perfect religious freedom.

A delicate point next presents itself, in the conduct of the Puritans towards Roger Williams. Professor Gammell, as we before remarked, has treated this matter with a Christian courtesy which does honor to his heart, while he narrates, in impartial terms, the almost inexplicable proceedings of the fathers of Massachusetts. Justice requires that the historian should relate facts as they have occurred, without palliation

or reservation, and candor often compels him to sacrifice his personal feelings on the altar of truth.

It is the too frequent violation of this self-evident maxim that prompted the famous remark of Horace Walpole,—“As for history, I know that that is a lie.” In the work before us, Professor Gammell has followed what we conceive to be the first rule for an historian, in the maxim above laid down. We may regret the conduct of our ancestors, but we are not entitled to defend or extenuate their errors. We may account for them from the circumstances of the case, and may show that they originated in an honest misapprehension of principles, thereby proving that the actors, though mistaken, were consistent, and that their sins were rather of the head than of the heart. This view we adopt in our judgment of the Puritans.

To justify their conduct toward Roger Williams and others who dissented from their peculiar tenets, would be to sanction a bloody persecution. No man in his senses would now commend the Papal Inquisition, or desire to see re-enacted, in the nineteenth century, the atrocities of Smithfield. We must, therefore, in reason, yield the point that grievous wrongs were done, in the name of God, by our progenitors. The lapse of two hundred years should enable us to look calmly into the matter, and discuss with unbiased minds the virtues and the faults of our Puritan forefathers.

Let us approach this subject in the only mode by which we can hope to arrive at a fair estimate of character as it existed in former days; and that is by placing ourselves, for the time, as far as possible, in the position of those upon whom we would pronounce judgment.

In the first place, we must remember that the doctrine of religious freedom was unknown until advanced by Roger Williams. The Puritans fled from England because they could not conform to the usages of the established church; because they desired a still further extension of the principles of the Reformation, because they would not assent to those forms of church service afterwards attempted to be enforced by the celebrated act of uniformity. Differing widely on these points from the government creed, they looked for a home in the new world, where they might erect an establishment in accordance with their peculiar theological

views. "They sought a faith's pure shrine," based on what they held to be a purer system of worship, and a discipline more in unison with their notions of a church. For this they braved the wild Atlantic, and in the dead of winter landed on the dreary coast of New England. Here they proceeded to organize a State whose civil code followed close on the track of the Mosaic law, and whose ecclesiastical polity, like that of the Jews and of all those then existing, was identified with the civil power. They thus secured what was denied them in England, the right to pursue their own form of religion without molestation, and in this the object of their exile was attained.

In our estimate of their characters, we are too apt to judge them by the light of the present day. Two centuries of progress have wrought so great a change in opinions and views, by increasing so largely our fund of knowledge, that what was expedient, or proper, or even right in those times, would be justly regarded as absurd or erroneous in this age. We might almost as well revile our ancestors for the use of the hand-loom, since modern science has introduced self-moving machinery, as denounce them for not acting upon principles which in their day were unrecognized in civil polity. They founded a colony for their own faith without any idea of tolerating others. For doing this, they have been charged with bigotry, fanaticism and folly. Every epithet has been applied to them which can be employed to express detestation of the conduct of men acting under a sober conviction of truth. Regarding their conduct from the stand-point of the nineteenth century, all this may be just. The like proceedings in this age, would deserve the severest sentence of condemnation. But not so two hundred years ago. The bigotry of the Puritans was the bigotry of their times. In every act they illustrated the spirit of the age.

There were some faults for which, even with all this allowance, we are at a loss to account, which seem to us unpardonable, and to these we shall have occasion to refer; but intolerance is not one of them. Toleration was a word conveying to their minds an image of terror, which no other word, save one of which we shall presently speak, could inspire. It was so held in England also, and throughout Europe. The principle was regarded with the same heartfelt abhorrence that conservative statesmen now express for the feculent

emanations of the Jacobin clubs of France; for to their minds it was attended with the like fatal results.

The Simple Cobler of Agawam informs us that "he that is willing to tolerate any religion, or decrepant way of religion, besides his own, unless it be in matters merely indifferent, either doubts of his own, or is not sincere in it." This tract was written in 1647. To the same end, and about the same time, the illustrious Bossuet was employing his almost super-human eloquence to obtain the royal interference in enforcing the supremacy of the papal church. The churches of Scotland and England were alike zealous in effecting uniformity. The sainted Baxter says, "I abhor unlimited liberty, or toleration of all." In a like strain, Edwards, another eminent divine, proceeds, "Toleration will make the kingdom a chaos,—is the grand work of the devil,—is a most transcendent, catholic and fundamental evil. As original sin is the fundamental sin, having the seed and spawn of all sins in it, so toleration hath all errors in it, and all evils." This was the policy of Massachusetts Bay. There was found on the person of one of the early governors, when on his death-bed, this original couplet, which embodies the prevailing sentiment of the times,

"Let men of God in court and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,"—

a verse, doubtless considered equally creditable to the piety and the poetic genius of the author.

With this state of public opinion among themselves, and those high authorities to countenance them abroad, we cannot in fairness condemn them for desiring to free the colonies of all dissenters. They probably thought, and we concur in the opinion, that there was already enough of "original sin" among them, without incorporating in the civil polity any new modification of "the fundamental evil." We regret the sad error they adopted, but are rather disposed to pity than to censure. Fidelity to their acknowledged principles has degraded the closing stanza of Mrs. Hemans's exquisite lines on the "Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers," from the rank of a sublime truth, to the level of a beautiful poetic fiction.

Thus much for their views of toleration. The abuse of their principles arose mainly from the tenacity with which they maintained them, and the trying situation in which they were placed. Had their own views been more liberal, we

may well doubt whether the home government, actuated by the same spirit of intolerance, would have allowed the dissemination of free opinion, in so large and prominent a colony. It was not till some years after, when a convulsion had shaken the institutions of England to their foundation, and the public mind was too intent on the fearful crisis at home to regard the affairs of distant provinces, that a free charter was obtained for the then obscure plantations in Rhode Island.

Again,—the Puritans looked on every departure from the established creed, as being, what in fact it was, an infringement of the civil code; for in their constitution, government was merely secondary, and the church was the primary function. Hence they regarded every dissent from their religious polity as revolutionary, as subversive of social order, and treated it as a crime. We therefore find them summoning Roger Williams before their highest tribunal, to answer for “the crime” of holding to certain opinions of a purely religious nature. The first count in this remarkable indictment, runs thus,—For maintaining, “that the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace.” The remaining charges are quite as remote from our ideas of what properly pertains to the sphere of judicial decision. With these views, we are not inclined to wonder so much at their expulsion of Williams, as to condemn their subsequent conduct towards him and his colony, and their horrible treatment of the Quakers. The latter, we presume, might be defended on the reasoning we have stated; but yet we cannot comprehend how professing Christians, and pure-hearted men, could ever have carried their mistaken principles so far as cruelly to torture, and in cold blood to murder, those who sought protection at their hands. It is a lamentable proof of human fallibility. The sweeping sentence of outlawry pronounced against the Rhode Island colonists, the implacable hatred to all that pertained to the heretical plantations, and the constant and unwarranted attempts at interference in the civil police of that State, can only be accounted for from a spirit of jealousy, having its origin in the hatred of free principles, and augmented by the rising prosperity of their offspring. This spirit we cannot justify; we have shown at length in what we think it first took its rise, and which may serve to mitigate,

though it cannot excuse. We can now only relate the facts as they are. It is a source of regret that we are compelled, from the nature of our subject, to treat chiefly of the dark side of characters which possessed so much true piety and essential greatness of soul,—to apologize for their errors, and expose their obliquities.

As we presume most of those who see this article, will have read Professor Gammell's work (and all who are friends of religious freedom should peruse it), we will not detail facts in historic connection, but merely adduce in this place such as relate to the intercourse between Williams and the authorities of Massachusetts. He was banished in 1635, at the autumn session of the General Court, and required to depart out of the jurisdiction of the colony within six weeks. It is a singular fact, that in this court, composed of magistrates and clergy, while some few of the laymen opposed the decree, every minister save one approved it. A practical commentary is thus afforded on the danger of uniting the civil and ecclesiastical administrations. It suggests the reflection that of all characters, the most dangerous and most despicable is the political priest.

In January, 1636, Williams, leaving his family in Salem, set out alone to encounter the rigor of a New England winter, through a wilderness trodden only by wild beasts and wilder savages. Through hardships which we cannot here depict, and after being warned off from his first planting on the eastern shore of the Seekonk, as being within the jurisdiction of Plymouth, he at last, in the summer of 1636, found a resting place on the free hills of Providence. His colony soon grew, in the mode and by the materials before described. In proportion to its growth, the hostility of Massachusetts increased ; an enmity which no sacrifice could assuage, and which even the subsequent salvation of their State, achieved by the heroic self-devotion of their victim, could not lessen. A few months after the banishment of Roger Williams, the Pequot war broke out. This powerful tribe had sent ambassadors to the Narragansetts to effect a league that should involve in its fatal results the utter destruction of the English, and thereby prevent the calamity which they foresaw must soon annihilate the Indian race.

Roger Williams was the only man in New England who could avert the impending evil. The savages were his

friends, won by his kindness, and protected by him in their rights from the rapacity of the white men. His own life, and that of the few who had joined him, was secure in the love of the Narragansetts. Still, though smarting under the injuries of recent oppressions, he threw himself between his own persecutors and their relentless foes. At the risk of his life from the Pequot tomahawks and the perils of the way, he sought the wigwam of Canonicus, and accomplished what Mr. Bancroft has pronounced "the most intrepid and most successful achievement of the whole war; an action as perilous in its execution, as it was fortunate in its issue." What was the reward of his magnanimity? Governor Winthrop, who seems to have been the most liberal man of his age and place, moved in the legislature that Mr. Williams be recalled from banishment, and honored by some high mark of favor. To the eternal disgrace of the colonists, it is recorded that the question was suffered to drop unnoticed. More base ingratitude does not illustrate the annals of bigotry in any age.

The same vindictive spirit showed itself toward the people of Rhode Island, when, six years after, the New England confederacy was formed, chiefly for protection against the Indians. Although the colonies then owed their existence to the heroism of Rhode Island, her application to be admitted to the league, met with a stern refusal.

The Indians were becoming supplied with fire arms, and skilled in their use, all communication with her sister colonies was interdicted, and Rhode Island stood alone amid dangers from famine, pestilence, and war. Her only strength was in the valor of her sons and the truth of her principles. Had the *lex talionis* been her guide, as it has been of most governments, she would have been justified by the necessities to which she was reduced, and might have compelled admission to the league, by withdrawing her restraining influence from the Indians. It is one of the brightest spots in her history, that in this dark hour the magnanimity of her founder actuated her councils. Turning from the ingratitude of the Puritans, she appealed to the king. Roger Williams was sent to England to intercede for a charter; and because the tyranny of Massachusetts Bay would not relax, he was obliged to take passage from New York. A free charter was obtained. The persecuted colony now assumed the rank of a united

and independent State ; and to the subsequent harshness of her neighbors, was enabled to oppose the language of bold, but courteous remonstrance.

The last instance that we shall here adduce of the unpardonable hostility to their exiled benefactors, which stains the otherwise exalted character of the Puritans, relates to their treatment of Rhode Island in the case of the Quakers. Fifteen years after the organization of the government under the first charter, the persecution of the Quakers through all the confederated colonies was at its height. The details of that bloody period are too revolting to relate. Those who would search history for a parallel may find it in the life of Simon d'Montfort, or in Llorente's History of the Inquisition. Rhode Island was urged to join in the fierce oppression ; but she remained true to her own principles. Constraint was resorted to, and threats of exclusion from all intercourse and trade with the rest of New England, employed to force her from her fidelity to the cause of religious freedom; but in vain. Roger Williams was then President of the colony. He preferred the continued enmity of his old persecutors, to their cold friendship purchased at the expense of his most cherished idea. The result of this controversy was an appeal to Cromwell on the part of Rhode Island, that "they may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted or violated." The home government was always inclined to protect Rhode Island from the intolerance of her neighbors ; and on more than one occasion, letters of remonstrance were addressed by influential men in England, to the authorities of Massachusetts Bay on this subject. But they had little effect ; and it was not till the dawn of a brighter day, when the principles of Roger Williams had achieved their own triumph, that the old feeling of enmity wore away.

This unnatural hostility between sister States, united by every tie of interest and position, has long since given place to that friendly interchange of sentiment which should prevail among republics holding one law, one faith, and one constitution. Long after this happy reconciliation had commenced, these two States stood side by side through the trying ordeal of our revolutionary struggle ; and the blood of their citizens, mingling together on many a well fought field, has sealed the eternal pledge of their union.

We have considered two of the causes which led to the banishment of Roger Williams ; first, the hereditary dread of toleration entertained by the early Puritans, and secondly, the fact that they looked on every breach of their established creed as a civil crime.

To these causes there should be added a third,—their fear of Anabaptistry. What there was in the peculiar sentiments of this church, apart from their universal toleration to all who differed from them, that should excite the apprehension of our worthy ancestors to such a degree, we are at a loss to discover. But certain it is that there was in that word a spell more potent than the horn of Astolpho to carry terror to the hearts of all who heard it. The name of Anabaptist could conjure up a host of grim, unearthly phantoms to the disordered fancies of the Puritans, even more frightful than the dreaded results of toleration. Perhaps they thought the ghosts of Dedham, and the witches of Salem, were imbued with Anabaptist principles. The terror of a name was never more strongly illustrated. The deeds of Bertram seem to have left an impression on the awe-stricken ladies of South America, akin to that produced in the colonies by the premonitory symptoms of Anabaptistry.

“ Panama’s maids shall long look pale
When Rizingham inspires the tale ;
Chili’s dark matrons long shall tame
The froward child with Bertram’s name.”

To the Puritans the presence of Anabaptism was a bugbear as effectual as that with which the Chilian nurses were wont to frighten naughty children to obedience. Perhaps they considered the sect as a species of buccaneer, and regarded Roger Williams as a sanctified Rizingham.

Whence came this ungrounded fear of a church which has ever held unlimited toleration as a cardinal maxim, and has *never* sought the aid of the civil power to enforce doctrines which they consider true, and efficacious enough to sustain themselves ? It originated in the misapprehension of historians, who, confounding a name with a creed, have thrown all the odium of the Rustic war upon the tenets of a sect, whose principles, from the earliest ages, have been those of the Prince of peace. Assuming that similarity of name implied concurrence of sentiment, they have charged the pure conduct and creed of the Baptists, with the socialism and

fanatic barbarities of Munster. As well might we condemn the Puritans for the errors of the ancient Cathari, as attribute to Anabaptism the crimes of Matthias and Boccold. These demagogues, seizing a prevalent idea, made it, by means of reckless followers, the engine of radicalism; and because that idea related to the form of baptism, have thence been held up by its enemies as the patrons of a law-abiding sect. They have been confounded with the pure-minded men, who, in that polemic age, did advocate, against the despotic spirit of Luther, the peculiar rites and liberal doctrines of anabaptism.

Speaking of these latter men, and confounding them with the incarnate fiends of Munster, Melchior Adamus, a German author of the seventeenth century, says (and to this effect he is cited by Milner), "These fanatical prophets opposed the baptism of infants, and appear to have been among the very first of the turbulent German Anabaptists;—a sect which ought never to be confounded with the Baptists of our times." Whoever will study for himself the history of the Rustic war, will find deeper causes for that fierce commotion than lay in theological controversy, even at an age when all Germany was the arena of apostolic strife.

Here we may take notice of the fact, that great injustice is often done to the Baptists, by arguing, from the stress with which the nature of the case leads them to insist on the true administration of the initiating rite of Christianity, that they deem it essential to salvation. Such is not the case; for in every age, when all the established churches of Christendom have declared baptism to be essential to the salvation even of unconscious infants, they proclaimed the doctrine that no baptism, but that which was the profession of an antecedent and saving faith, could be held valid by the church, or acceptable to God. They declared that there could be no distinction in the eye of Almighty justice "between the infant of a Christian and of a Turk," and hence denied the validity of involuntary baptism. For this very expression, they have repeatedly drawn down upon themselves the thunders of the hierarchy.

Gibbon has assigned the true reason, why, in the primitive ages of the church, the Jews were tolerated, while the Christians were persecuted, by the Roman power,—because the former were a *nation*, the latter a *sect*, voluntary and separate from all civil governments. For the same reason is it, that

the Baptists have always been subject to persecution, because from the very nature of their faith, they can be nothing but a voluntary sect, denying, as they do, the right of the state to domineer over the consciences of men. There are now two clergymen of this denomination imprisoned in Denmark, because they are unwilling to accept their licenses to preach, as a boon of the government.

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For the reason that this church maintain the idea of religious freedom as a distinguishing and essential element of Christianity, their doctrines were regarded with peculiar aversion by the early Puritans. The first annunciation of this great principle by Roger Williams, awakened suspicion in the colony; his boldness in the cause of truth confirmed it; and the firmness with which he defended his opinions in every case, led to his final banishment.

It has been asserted that it was not for being a Baptist that Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts Bay. We affirm that, although a charge against him was not presented to the Court in that specific form, yet it was for promulgating Anabaptist principles, especially as to toleration, that he became an outlaw. The disputes concerning the king's patent, official oaths, military colors, etc., were trifling incidents by the side of this fearful phantom of Anabaptistry.

Why then?

Having now reviewed the principal features in the life of Williams, connected with the State whence he fled and the colony he founded, we shall close with a brief sketch of his opinions and character. Much has been said of the religious views of Roger Williams.

The change in his opinions concerning the rite of baptism has been held up to ridicule in no very Christian spirit, by some who seem ignorant or regardless of the fact, that Williams had been regularly ordained by a bishop of the church of England, and that hence, according to their system, whatever might be his own private notions, all his acts as a minister of Christ were duly apostolic and valid. At this time he founded the First Baptist Church in Providence, the oldest church of that denomination in America. But his peculiar views regarding a lineal descent of apostleship, soon led him to withdraw from this church. Retaining a faith in the necessity of direct succession, yet observing the flagrant departure of the priesthood from the moral precepts and mild example of the Saviour, he came to believe that the true descent was

lost, and that no ordinance could rightfully be administered by any of the existing clergy. His own reason suggested to his mind the alternative presented to the British Parliament in 1558 by the Archbishop of York, on the bill for attaching the supremacy of the church to the English crown,—“Either the church of Rome is a true or false one. If she be a true church, then we will be guilty of schism in leaving her, will be excommunicated by her, and the church of England will become herself a false church. If the church of Rome be a false church, then she cannot be a pure source of apostolic succession ; and the church of England must be false, because she derived her ordination and sacraments from that of Rome.” Williams rejected both horns of this dilemma. He was not content to trace the apostolic succession through a long line of corrupt and profligate pontiffs, for he could recognize no divine commission in those whose lives were stained with the grossest vices, and whose public acts were better suited to the throne of the Cæsars than to the chair of St. Peter. Nor yet could he discover any spiritual unction in that establishment, whose founder and chief was the licentious and crafty Henry VIII, styled, by a sort of prelatical vanity, Defender of the Faith. He could respect these no more than the divine commission of Mahomet. For these reasons he became a Seeker, looking for a speedy and direct revelation from heaven, which should restore the church in its pristine purity, now sunk in the corruption of ages. This was a natural effect on the mind of one who held to the apostolic succession, and at the same time believed that religion was a thing of feeling and not of form, a spiritual and not a material essence. He considered that practical piety developed itself in the conduct and feelings toward our fellow-men, and not in the observance of “days and months and times and years.” Hence, he continued till his death to labor “as a witness to the truth,” or “in the way of prophecy,” as he termed it, for the spiritual good of the Indians.

The political opinions of Roger Williams were formed in the republican school of that age. The companion of Milton, the friend of Hampden, Sidney and Vane, the associate, and, as would appear, the connection, though distant, of Cromwell, with a soul full of noble impulses and generous sentiments, he favored the popular cause. Though far removed from the scene of conflict, before the dreadful struggle had commenced

that resulted in the downfall of royalty, he aimed to establish in his own colony "a pure democracy." But in every step of his course, he displayed a regard to settled principles of legislation, save only where they interfered with matters of religion, that proved him to be the firm and consistent advocate of liberty, regulated by law.

His literary character is thus described by Professor Gam-mell :

" As a writer, he had little time, and it may be, little taste for the elegances of language. His style, however, is usually earnest and forcible, and sometimes sparkles with animating beauty, though it more generally rolls along roughly through sentences involved and wearisome, from their want of clearness and harmony. But when we reflect, that much of his time was spent away from cultivated society, in providing for the mere physical necessities of life, amid the depressions of poverty, and the hardships of an infant settlement, as he himself describes it, 'at the hoe and the oar for bread,' our wonder is, that he was able to write so much, and especially to write so well; and we pardon the rudeness of his style, as we think of the noble principles of spiritual freedom it embodies, and of the toils and sufferings he endured in making them familiar to mankind."

It is not less interesting or instructive to contemplate the private life, than the public career, of this truly great man. In his social connections, he was eminently kind and devoted. He believed that religion tended to strengthen, rather than diminish, the force of human affection, and he carried out his faith into practice. Hence the undying attachment he manifested in all his domestic relations, and the comprehensive philanthropy which marked his conduct toward all men. He was a friend to those of his associates and compeers, to whom the ties of natural love did not bind him, and he was a benefactor to his bitterest enemies. There is something beautiful and true in this view of the practical results of Christianity, which we too rarely see illustrated in actual life. It tends to wean the mind from the cold and material philosophy of Gibbon or Hume, to point it to that system where reason, faith and love unite in one harmonious whole.

Most of the prominent traits in the character of Roger Williams may be gathered from what we have now written. A firmness, amounting in some cases perhaps to obstinacy, enabled him to suffer hardships, rarely, if ever, surpassed by those of any exile for opinion's sake. "I was sorely tossed for fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean," are the words in which he described

that harassing journey which resulted in the settlement of Providence. His generosity amounted to prodigality ; for after having purchased of the Indians all the lands around his new plantations, with his own money, he divided them equally among those who followed him ; nor does it appear that he ever asked or received remuneration for his bestowment. His charity was an active principle, which led him to brave all peril to effect good to the natives, or reconcile feuds among his fellow-citizens. Of his forgiving spirit, we have cited too many proofs in his conduct toward the neighboring colonies, to require repetition. He harbored no feelings of revenge for injuries received, but pitied the weakness, or lamented the delusion whence they arose. His consistency and love of truth are alike apparent in his controversy with the Quakers at Newport, to which place he rowed in an open boat, thirty miles, when over seventy years old, to hold a public discussion with them ; yet he would have laid down his life, rather than have a hair of their heads injured on account of their doctrinal views. His industry was unwearied ; he valued time, and he well improved it. "One grain of its inestimable sand," says he, "is worth a golden mountain." His faults were those of an ardent mind, sometimes hasty, ever slow to yield ; but these are few beside his exalted virtues.

We cannot close this article, without expressing our acknowledgments to Prof. Gammell for the service he has rendered to his native State, in this excellent memoir of its founder ; for the patient toil he has displayed in collecting the materials, and for the easy and scholar-like manner with which he has presented them ; for the spirit of candor and courtesy with which he has treated a most difficult and delicate theme ; and for the gratification it has afforded us in the perusal. We commend this work to the attention of every lover of religious freedom, and every true friend of constitutional liberty. He will there find recorded with the eloquence of truth, the thoughts, the motives, and the deeds of one of the most remarkable men of any time,—a varied scholar, a profound philosopher, a practical Christian, a true philanthropist,—one whose deep knowledge of men, and whose acute perception of principles, as carried out in the foundation of an American State, has entitled him to a rank, which posterity will bestow, among the most far-sighted statesmen of his age,—one who, were it his only praise to have been

the first of modern legislators to embody the principles of universal toleration in the constitution of a State, would, by this act alone, secure a niche in the temple of fame, and cause his name to be handed down through all future time as **THE GREAT APOSTLE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.**

S. G. A.

ARTICLE VII.

THE MINISTRY FOR THE TIMES.

BY JOSEPH BELCHER, D. D.

The Ministry demanded by the present crisis. By **GEORGE B. IDE**, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia. American Baptist Publication Society. 18mo. pp. 102. 1845.

Affectionate Counsels to Students of Theology on leaving College, and also to young Ministers; being an Address delivered in Ebenezer Chapel, to six young men on the completion of their [preparatory] studies and leaving College. By **J. A. JAMES**. London. Hamilton & Co. 1844.

WE have read both these admirable works with almost boundless pleasure. They are filled with practical wisdom; they strikingly exemplify the excellences in the student and the preacher which they recommend; and they are both destined, we trust, to accomplish vast and extensive good in the circles in which we move. We believe the latter work has not yet been reprinted in this country; but it will enable us to bring forward some important counsels, showing on the one hand that the same kind of ministry is needed in the old world as in the new, and on the other, proving to our brethren that experienced ministers in both hemispheres would pursue the same road to the accomplishment of the same great object.

Mr. Ide's essay was originally delivered in the form of a sermon, before the Pennsylvania Baptist Education Society. Its publication, in pursuance of their request, speaks favorably for their sound judgment; while the slight change of form in

which the production appears, adapts it for circulation in all parts of our country, and gives it a better chance of being read hereafter. We are sure it must meet with very general commendation.

After an appropriate introduction, Mr. Ide proceeds to remark :

“ The aspects of the present time demonstrate that we live in a most important period of the world,—a period which will send down its influence to coming ages, and shape, for good or for evil, the destinies of unborn generations. And surely no Christian can contemplate these aspects, without a firm conviction that the interests of Zion, at such a juncture, demand a powerful ministry.”

Our author then proceeds to show the qualities necessary to constitute a powerful ministry ;—the exigencies requiring such a ministry ;—and the means by which it may be secured. In the discussion of his first head, he enumerates genuine and decided piety,—the anointing call of the Holy Spirit,—a high degree of intellectual culture,—and a prompt facility in the employment of his resources. Among the exigencies of the age requiring a powerful ministry, he mentions the universal diffusion of intelligence,—the growing and all-absorbing spirit of worldliness,—the peculiar excitability of the times,—the tendency to innovation,—the increasing energy and boldness displayed by the enemies of our holy religion,—the aggressive attitude of the church,—and the prospect of great civil and religious commotions ; and in answer to the inquiry, how such a ministry may be attained, he says that candidates for the sacred office, and those who are already in it, must propose to themselves a much higher standard of ministerial excellence,—that the churches must insist on greatly increased qualifications in those whom they set apart as religious teachers,—they must feel, far more intensely than they have yet done, the importance of assisting to educate their rising ministry,—and must rouse themselves to more earnest and believing prayer in behalf of the present and the future ministry. All these topics are discussed with considerable talent, and the discussion manifests pious feeling and correct taste.

Mr. James has long been very advantageously known in this country ; and this, connected with the fact that for about forty years he has sustained the pastoral office over one of the most important Independent churches in the old world, will command for his present pamphlet a respectful reception. He

has been no loiterer ; we know somewhat of his manner of life from his youth up, and can testify to his constant study, his unceasing labor, and his delightful success. His career has been one of incessant holy ardor. All who heard the admirable "Counsels" before us, must have felt that he knew their value by experience. Remembering ourselves the period of our author's entrance on the ministry, we have been solemnly impressed with a passage in his preface, which we will take the liberty to transcribe.

"Some of us are growing old in the ministry, and begin to be deeply anxious about our co-pastors or successors ; and knowing by what means we have attained to a degree of public favor and usefulness, as far above our deserts as it is beyond our expectations ; knowing at the same time, what it is that is most adapted to meet the wants of human nature, the tastes of society, and the demands of our churches, we are tremblingly concerned to see a race of ministers rising up, who, when we have rested from our labors, shall sustain and carry on the work which we have been honored in our respective spheres of duty to accomplish. Sorrowfully and humbly conscious of our defects, yet thankful for what God has wrought through our instrumentality, we desire to be followed by men every way our superiors ; and we hear with pure and unutterable delight the testimony that is borne not only to the literary attainments, but to the sound theology, and the evangelical and effective strain of preaching, of many who are from time to time issuing from our Colleges. Too much may have been said of the exceptions to this, and too little caution may have been observed in giving utterance to it ; but it has been in love to our younger brethren ; and love is jealous, while at the same time, even the jealousy of affection is not always sufficiently careful in its language. We have a most solicitous concern for our denomination ; and knowing that it is suffering not only from the assaults of its foes, who were never more determined in their hostility, but from the incompetency of many of its ministers, we venture to tell them that to be correctly dull, intellectually profound or philosophically religious, will not secure or retain for them the favor of the churches, accomplish the ends of their ministry, or build up our denomination. To be useful, they must be popular ; and to be popular they must be richly evangelical, simple, earnest, impressive and affectionate."

We have been much gratified by very many things we have observed in the churches and the ministry of the United States, and have often and devoutly thanked the great Head of the church on their behalf. Never did the voluntary principle in religion so fully develop itself, or accomplish so great triumphs as here ; never did Christian zeal surmount more difficulties, or produce fairer fruits. Our churches, our colleges, our missionary and other public institutions, indicate a determination to attempt and to expect great things. In reference to the ministry, too, we rejoice that on all hands the

importance of piety, learning, and activity is universally felt. Not a few striking instances of the determination to attain great excellence on the part of the rising ministry have been shown; while many of the churches have proved themselves ready to do their part in the accomplishment of this high and holy purpose. We have seen little that is selfish in the churches of these States, and nothing that indicates a niggardly spirit. We have not met with a single objector to ministerial education, nor with any who were unwilling to contribute to its attainment. We firmly believe that no churches on earth more earnestly desire the purity, the prosperity, and the extension of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, than the Baptist churches in the United States of America.

If, after this statement, we venture to hint at two or three imperfections which we think we have observed among our friends, we hope that neither our motives nor our design will be misunderstood. Where so much is excellent, we are desirous of perfection.

If we were asked to present all we have to say in one word, we should simply complain of *restlessness*. Unhappily, somewhat of this spirit seems to pervade all classes of religious society, and we are constantly ready to cry out in apostolic language, "Be steadfast, unmovable." Of course, we are aware that a considerable portion of this restlessness is inseparable from a comparatively new country, and that it would be altogether unreasonable to expect the staid habits of England, for instance, in the United States; but after all requisite allowance, it appears to us that the disposition of which we complain is rather increasing than otherwise, and we are persuaded that the results are and must be wholly injurious.

It has been our happiness to visit several of the colleges, and to inquire somewhat diligently into their courses of study; and we will venture to assert, that more learning or more sound judgment is not to be found in connection with ministerial training in any part of the world; and yet we fear that the general character of the ministry is not of an eminently learned or solid kind. The reason is obvious,—comparatively few of our junior brethren go through a complete course. Many of them continue in college one or two years, then leave for a pastorate, or perhaps for the farm,—possibly, in some cases, in a year or two return to the college, with a view of

finishing their course ; but again, after one or two sessions, they absent themselves, and then are seen no more. Can these men be scholars ? Can they fairly represent the colleges whose advantages they have sought ? Or can the churches rely on them as on men of staid and steady character ?

But this is not all. Too many, when they become pastors, are not settled, nor do they even think of settling. We attended an ordination a few months since, and after the service congratulated our young brother on his position and prospects, and, to our utter astonishment, heard from his lips, "O, I don't think I shall stay here above six or eight months." "Indeed, what then do you think of?" "I don't know yet ; perhaps I shall go far west, or, perhaps shall take an agency ; or, I don't know whether I shall not take another term or two at college ?" Now where could be the *pastoral* feeling of this brother ? What difficulties in his station, could he be prepared to meet ? Or, what opportunity or inclination could he enjoy of attaining excellence in his profession ? When we ventured to suggest these inquiries, we were met with a good-natured smile, and the remark, "O, you will find that we are constantly moving about in this country." It may be so ; but it must surely almost compel a young man to "finish his studies" when he leaves the college, as it assuredly lowers the standard of his piety. Mr. James has these excellent remarks on the young pastor's first settlement :—

"Do not be ambitious of first or high stations. Be content to be for a while in comparative obscurity ; most young plants grow best at first in the shade ; they cannot bear the full blaze of the meridian sun ; so may young ministers ripen best for greater publicity in comparative retirement. Not a few have been injured, if not spoiled, by being placed at once in the front rank. Do not look for situations of ease, elegance, or comfort, so much as for spheres of labor and usefulness. It has been thought by some, that the young ministers of the present day have not enough of the missionary spirit : they must have good situations ready-made for them, and not such as they make for themselves. They have none of Paul's ambition to 'preach the gospel where Christ was not named,' and to lay their own foundation ; they would rather enter into other men's labors, and build upon their foundation. Be it your disposition to follow where your Master leads, to work in any part of his vineyard where he may be pleased to employ you, and to do any work on which he may set you. Leave yourselves in his hands ; and confide in him fully.

"As to those of you whose way is already prepared for you to churches that have invited you to take the oversight of their affairs, let not your hearts be troubled with too pressing and painful a solicitude about discharging the onerous and responsible duties which are soon to

devolve upon you. I would not abate one jot of that deep concern, of which I trust you are the subjects, about the weight of those solemn obligations which you are about to undertake. The young man who can quit the pursuits of a college for the oversight of a church, in a spirit of thoughtless levity ; who can go laughing and skipping, as it were, from classical and theological studies to the care of immortal souls, evinces an ignorance or insensibility, which in either case betokens an utter unfitness for the work of God. But I am supposing on the contrary that upon leaving college with the near prospect of settling as the pastor of a Christian church, you are going forth with the burden of the Lord pressing heavily upon your hearts, and that you are trembling under the awful weight ; that as the object which you have contemplated at a distance draws near, you are all but bowed down and overwhelmed with a felt sense of the value of immortal souls, and the labor and responsibility of watching for them ; that under an apprehension of the difficulties of church government, and the consciousness of your own ignorance and inexperience in matters of this kind, you are often crying almost in an agony, ‘Lord, who is sufficient for these things?’ and that like the prophet Jeremiah, when called to his office, you are saying, ‘Ah, Lord God ! behold, I cannot speak ; for I am a child.’ If there has been none of this self-diffidence, none of these holy tremblings, as from your little study you have looked over the imagined scene of your future labors, I have little hope of you. But I cannot persuade myself that you are thus insensible ; and it is to allay your anxiety, and to calm the perturbation of mind to which it gives rise, that I now address to you the language of consolation and encouragement. Trust in the Lord. The review of his past dealings, in clearing away the difficulties of your path and enabling you so successfully to go through your studies, and probably in blessing your first efforts as students to preach his glorious gospel, may well inspire a hope that he will be with you throughout the course which is now opening before you, and to which he is beckoning you on with his own promised assistance, ‘Lo, I am with you.—Fear not.—My grace is sufficient for you.’ Obey this merciful injunction, and go forward with a firm step and a steady confidence. If you cannot but tremble, still rejoice while you tremble. Think how God has helped others. Your fathers in the ministry, to whom God has given public favor, and long standing, and no inconsiderable usefulness, were once young and trembling like you ; they too went forth with faltering step and palpitating heart, from the study to the pulpit, and now, amidst declining years and hoary hairs, can speak of the faithfulness of God, in the help they have received.”

We must venture, in this connection, to present another extract, the spirit and practice of which will do very much to lessen the evil of which we are complaining :—

“ Do not, my brethren, give up college habits of study, on quitting a college residence. Do not cease to be learners when you become teachers. Let not the pulpit of the minister become the grave of the student, where nothing is seen but the ghostly shade of the departed scholar, and nothing heard but the sepulchral *vox, et præterea nihil.* Be ever the studious man. Here you have laid a good foundation against the time to come ; but it is *only* a foundation ; now go and raise upon it a goodly structure of general and sacred knowledge. Let

nothing be allowed to break up those habits of mental application and culture, which it has been the aim of your tutors to assist you in forming. Your own conscience must now be as rigid in exacting your daily tasks, as they have been. You cannot keep your standing among your brethren, much less rise to eminence, without great, and unwearied, and persevering diligence. It is to the neglect of this, that so many who were promising as students, fail as ministers. They act like persons engaged in worldly matters, who having by some means acquired in the commencement of their trading life, a certain portion of property, and thus secured a capital, which though not enough to live upon, was amply sufficient by diligence and perseverance to advance them to wealth, instead of seeking to increase their stock, become idle and luxurious, live upon their little capital as if it would never be exhausted, and soon sink to poverty and contempt. You, my brethren, have a good capital of varied knowledge to begin with, but it is far too little to live upon. It is quite too soon for you to think of retiring from study. You may become rich, and able also to enrich others; but that is not the case yet. The *otium cum dignitate*, if it shall ever belong to you, is far enough off at present. Those attainments which are now your honor, will, if not greatly augmented, be your disgrace five years hence. ‘ You must incline your ear unto wisdom, and apply your heart to understanding; yea, if you cry after knowledge, and lift up your voice for understanding; if you seek for her as silver, and search for her as for hid treasure, then shall you understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God.’ ”

We are aware that the whole blame of restlessness on the part of young ministers does not belong to them, but must be shared by the churches. The bustling, onward movements of our country,—the incessant demand for excitement among our young people, who every where have vast influence,—the result of revivals, real or apparent, a few years ago,—and the efforts of not a few active leaders of the people to “keep moving,” have all tended to produce a state of things which leads many of our churches almost to expect, if not actually to arrange for a change in the pastorate every year or two. We would respectfully suggest to these brethren, whether this desire to change always indicates a healthy state of feeling?—Whether weight of character acquired by a lengthened residence in the same place,—frequent association with the people of his charge,—an acquaintance with their habits of thought and feeling, and with their domestic associations, together with the mutual confidence every day increasing between the pastor and the youthful part of the community, may not far more than counterbalance any advantages arising from the novelty occasioned by a change? We are persuaded that the churches which have been most remarkable for keeping their pastors till separated from them by death,

have been usually most happy ; and, as a general rule, that the pastors who have remained the longest period with any individual church, have been the most useful.

After all that can be said on this subject, we are persuaded that the remedy must be supplied by the pastors themselves ; and in order to this, there must be a vast improvement in the character of the ministry. Our brethren must not be offended with this remark. It is not intended to insinuate that the American Baptist ministry will not bear a comparison with the ministry of any other denomination of Christians, either at home or abroad ; nor do we mean that no other country needs an improvement in this particular ; but we must now strenuously insist upon it, that in order to extend our denomination over the whole land, and to strengthen the churches which at present exist, there must be an improvement in the piety, the learning, and the vigor of the ministry. Both the works cited at the head of this article, go fully and clearly to demonstrate this ; and we should deeply regret to omit many passages on this topic in Mr. Ide's excellent volume, were we not persuaded that most of our readers will feel it a duty to possess it. As this will not probably be the case with Mr. James's work, we shall give a long extract, assured that its excellence will more than atone for its length, and imploring that our brethren will carefully study it.

“ Do not imagine, my young brethren, that by my next counsel, I am going to strike out the spark of vanity, to foster a worldly ambition, or excite a thirst after human applause, when I say, aim at excellence, and even eminence, in your holy calling as *preachers*. By no means : mortify these your members which are upon the earth, and crucify these affections and lusts of your mind. They are the besetting sins of the ministerial office, which have cost many a devoted servant of Christ groans and tears, and filled him with self-abasement and self-abhorrence. Watch, and labor, and pray against self ; and nothing less than such resistance will keep it down. Self-seeking is a sin against which you must ever be on your guard. It is a sin that insinuates itself into the closet, the study, and the pulpit, and corrupts not only our sermons, but our very prayers ;—still notwithstanding this, I say, aim at eminence in your profession. No man should be satisfied with mediocrity of excellence ; as Christians we are commanded to go on unto perfection, and so we are as ministers. Whatever is lawful to be done, should be done well ; and the best things should be *done best*. In proportion to the importance of the line of action in which any one is moving, should be his solicitude to move in it well. Measure, if you can, the importance which attaches to *your* calling. Think of the interests which depend upon it,—the glory of God, the honor of Christ, the salvation of a lost

world. Yours is the only class of men which, in the full import of the phrase, labor for immortality. Infinite consequences of weal or woe, both to yourselves and to others, hang on every step of that course on which you are now about to enter. Pause, and ponder. Survey your work, and summon all the energies of your soul to its performance, and embark your deepest sympathies in its success.

“ But what do I mean by eminence? Not eminence in learning or science,—in oratory or rhetoric,—in the genius that dazzles or the taste that delights,—except as all these may be subservient, which they unquestionably may, to something higher and better, but eminence in usefulness and all the qualifications that prepare for it; eminence in that which made Whitefield and Wesley, yea, Peter and Paul, illustrious; eminence as faithful, devoted, successful ministers of God’s word. O to be useful in winning souls to Christ; in widening the reign of truth, holiness, love, and happiness; in multiplying the trophies of the cross; in peopling the realms of immortality with the spirits of redeemed men, and swelling the praises of eternity. Lend me an angel’s harp, while I sing the honors of that man, who through grace is the instrument, in an eminent degree, of accomplishing all this. Such a man may look from his height of distinction upon all the earth-born geniuses of fame as immeasurably below him, in whatever department of action they labor, or to whatever altitude of renown they rise.

“ Now in order to this, you must be eminent as *preachers*. Consider the power of the pulpit when well occupied. Dwell upon the majesty and force of eternal truth, when aided by the living voice and ‘ human face divine,’ and accompanied by the blessing of the Spirit of God. The power of oratory has been confessed by all nations, savage and civilized, ancient and modern. That truth which has been *read* many times in the closet without producing conviction or emotion, has, when announced from the pulpit, been blessed in thousands of instances for the conversion of the soul to God. Many a preacher, by the simple, earnest, and unaffected persuasiveness of his manner, has carried away his hearers upon the rapid and resistless tide of his own feeling; they heard what he said, and saw what he felt; his eye helped his tongue, and the workings of his countenance disclosed the secrets of his heart; every look and every action were vocal; his manner was an impressive comment upon his matter, and breaking down the limits which the feebleness of language in some cases imposes upon the communication of thought, gave his audience a view and a sense of his subject, which mere unimpassioned sentences, however eloquent, never could have done. The preacher then, no less than the sermon, must have heart as well as head. Learned, elaborate, philosophical, or logical discourses, but wanting this, may, like the stars on a wintry night, sparkle in their high ethereal courses; may attract notice and admiration; but they shed little light upon the path of the lost traveller, and less warmth upon his shivering frame. There surely must be a latent power in the pulpit yet untried, because undiscovered, which with some few exceptions, has not been exhibited since the days of Whitefield. ‘ Theology affords the best field for tender, sublime, and solemn eloquence. The most glorious objects are presented, the most important interests are discussed, the most tender motives are urged.’ The councils of eternity are laid open, the secrets of heaven disclosed, and the deepest thoughts of omniscient wisdom embodied in the words of inspiration, are announced. Voices from the excellent glory are echoed, and ‘ spirits

from the vasty deep,' are called up before the imagination of the hearers by the more than magic wand of the preacher. God and angels; the treason of Satan; the creation, ruin, and recovery of a world; the incarnation, death, and resurrection of the Son of God; the day of judgment, with all its awful solemnities; a burning universe; an eternal state of ineffable felicity in heaven, or of inconceivable torment in hell; and all these stupendous subjects set forth in prophetic visions, gospel narratives, apostolical epistles, and apocalyptic symbols, pass before our eyes, and are the materials of our discourses. What are the themes on which statesmen and orators have dwelt, when with the thunders of their eloquence they shook the walls of legislation, compared with these? What, in ancient times, were the petty dissensions in the states of Greece, or the ambition of Philip? What the plots and victories of Rome, or the treason of Catiline? Or what in modern times, are the struggles of colonies, wise enough and strong enough to be independent, against the father-land; or the conflicts of a people determined to be free, against the despot that aimed to enslave them; or the noble efforts of patriots to reform parliaments, and to cleanse the Augean stable of political corruption; or even the long continued, but at last successful battle for the emancipation of the negro slave? If we had faculties, and energies, and piety, and zeal, even in some tolerable proportion adequate to the wielding of such topics as these,—if we felt our subject and took as much pains to make others feel it as Demosthenes and Cicero did; or a Chatham and Pitt, Burke and Fox, Grattan and Wilberforce did, we should be the most eloquent men on earth, and be confessed to be such wherever congenial minds were found. With the Bible as a celestial source of radiance at which to kindle our torch, how should it, and how might it, blaze with a more than earthly brightness!

"How is it, then, that of those who leave our colleges, so few attain to eminence as preachers? In some, and perhaps in not a few cases, I am aware, there are physical disqualifications in the way; there is no gift of commanding utterance, no fervor of imagination, no strength of intellect, no enthusiasm of soul; and a fault lies somewhere that such persons were ever sent into the ministry; for neither reverend imbecility, nor sacred inanity, nor learned dullness, will do for the pulpit at any time, much less for the present, when all around, without and within the church, is in a state of high excitement. Rush-lights will not do in the pulpit, when hydrogen and oxygen are blazing every where else. But the failure in other cases, is not to be traced to a cause so innocent as inability. It is not a want of talent, but of tact,—it is not ignorance, but indolence,—it is not a deficiency of voice, but of soul,—not a physical incapability of any kind, but a moral one; it is, in fact, a want of heartiness, and diligence, and earnestness. The men have not thrown their whole selves into the work. They have wanted the burning zeal for God, the melting pity for souls, the hungering and thirsting after usefulness, the labor in study, the self-cultivation, the constant pains-taking, and the fervent piety, which alone can conduct to eminence. Or else, perhaps, they were more concerned for a comfortable settlement, a home of elegance or comfort; or they made the fatal mistake at the outset, of determining to be scholars, metaphysicians, or philosophers, instead of being preachers and pastors. They went to their ministry with the purpose of composing what they meant should be fine sermons, and secure the approbation and applause of what they considered were the more intellectual portion of their hearers, and thus failed in every

thing. They forgot that their congregations were sinners that needed pardon, lost souls perishing in their sins, and that needed salvation ; or else that they were men and women harassed by six days' labor, wearied by the cares, and burdened with the sorrows of time, collected round their pulpit on the day of rest, to be soothed and invigorated by the prospects and the hopes of heaven and eternity ; that these children of want and wo had come to have their minds instructed, their cares softened, their sorrows assuaged, their consciences purified, their hearts healed by the music of gospel truth ;—and then to be treated with nothing but the philosophical essay, the metaphysical disquisition, the meatless, marrowless bones of criticism, the thorns of controversy, the flowers of rhetoric, or the mere slip-slop of words without thought, or thoughts without connection, order, or intelligible meaning ! O, what is this but to mock the hungry by offering stones for bread, and to insult the thirsty by presenting froth instead of the crystal stream of the water of life ?

“ To be eminent as preachers, you must be eminently *evangelical* in your themes of pulpit ministrations. You remember that the artist of the statue of Minerva on the Acropolis of Athens, so wrought his own name into the shield of the tutelary goddess of the city, that it was impossible to efface it without destroying the whole. Let it not be your own name, but that which is above every name, which you work up into all your sermons. It is said, you know, that Phidias in the further exercise of his vanity, introduced his own portrait into his celebrated sculpture of the Battle of the Amazons, in the frieze of the Parthenon, which the Greeks considered such a profanation, that notwithstanding the architectural glory which his genius had lavished upon Athens, they threw him into prison, where he died. Shall it have been considered such an inexcusable offence by pagans, for mortal man to attempt to share the glory of the immortal gods, and the sin of Christian ministers, in seeking to usurp the glory of Christ by endeavoring to fix the attention of their hearers upon themselves instead of their divine Lord, be hidden from *their* eyes ? Preach Christ, my brethren, and for Christ's own sake. Exalt Christ, not yourselves. Exhibit Christ, in the divinity of his person, the efficacy of his atonement, the prevalence of his intercession, the fullness of his grace, the freeness of his invitations, the perfection of his example ; in all his mediatorial offices, and scripture characters ; and as the Alpha and Omega of your whole ministry. Let your sermons be fragrant with the odors of his name : carry this precious unguent to the pulpit, break the alabaster box, and let the precious perfume fill the house in which you minister. Christ has himself told you the secret of popularity and success, where he said, ‘ And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me.’ With this divine loadstone magnetise your sermons : here lies the attraction. Preach as in full view of all the wonders of Calvary, and let it be as if, while you spoke, you felt the Saviour's grace flowing into, and filling your soul, and as if at that moment you were sympathizing with the apostle in his sublime raptures,—‘ God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.’ When Popery and Puseyism are lifting so extensively the *crucifix*, or at any rate a mere ceremonial religion, let us exhibit the *cross* in all its grandeur and attractions. This is our strength, our defence, and will ensure our success. Turning with disgust from the puerilities by which the doctrine of the cross is substituted, the people

will feel afresh the power of gospel truth, if we have but the wisdom and fidelity to present it. * * * * *

"Every thing I have said implies that in order to eminence, there must be simplicity as opposed to what is artificial, affected and egotistical, both in style and manner. It has been well remarked by an American writer, that 'some giant of a Johnson with all the encumbrance of artificial structure, has protruded his unwieldy form through the world, and Samson-like, has poised the pillars of the house, notwithstanding his fetters of brass ; and his humble imitators are, without his might, trying what they can do with both hands bound. They are placing perfection in sonorous words, in stateliness of movement, in an antithetical balance of clauses, and are running from nature as fast they can.'

"I seek divine simplicity in him
Who handles things divine."

It may be rested upon as an everlasting maxim, that the eloquence best fitted to thrill the heart of a philosopher, is that which melts the heart of a child.'

"Here let me warn you against the sad mistake of confounding mere noisy declamation, bluster and rant, with earnestness and animation. Nothing is more offensive to persons of taste, more repulsive even to the untrained multitude, or more destructive of the effect of the tender and solemn truths of the gospel, than emotionless vociferation. I have heard it said of Talma, the celebrated French actor, that he had made it a study for twenty years to acquire earnestness without vehemence. Robert Hall was a fine specimen of this ; no one can have heard that extraordinary man, in his happiest moods, without being as much impressed with the intense feeling and animation of his manner, as astonished by the grandeur of his conceptions, and delighted by the correctness of his taste. With a voice of little compass, and by no means musical, he compensated for these defects by the earnestness of his manner ; and with an eye through which the glow of his mighty soul was perpetually flashing upon his subject and his audience, he poured forth a stream of eloquence, which, though impeded at first by a slight hesitation, soon acquired the force of a torrent, and the grandeur of the cataract. Let me then entreat you to endeavor to acquire the great secret of earnestness without vehemence, and to avoid the reproach of imitating the contortions of the sibyl without her inspiration. In guarding against the one extreme, of being pulpit statues, cold, motionless, and all but silent, do not run into the other, of being pulpit furies."

Cold indeed must be that heart, and poor must be that intellect which cannot feel and admire the beauty of this passage, and in a low state must be the piety which does not, as the result of reading it, brace itself up for nobler efforts in the advancement of the Christian cause.

On another subject, too much neglected, we fear, in every part of the world, Mr. J. must be heard.

"I feel that this address would be deficient in one branch of advice to a young man upon leaving college, and would fail to meet one object of his solicitude, if I did not offer you a few thoughts on the manner of discharging your *Pastoral* duties. Perhaps this department of duty

excites, in prospect, more painful apprehension, than even that of the ministry of the word. You are ready to suppose, and you are quite correct in making the supposition, that it is less difficult to instruct men than to rule over them ; and that the obligations connected with the preacher's pulpit, are far less onerous than those which relate to the pastor's chair. Facts justify your anxiety on this head. Not a few have failed as pastors, who would have succeeded well enough as preachers, had the pulpit been the only sphere of their labor ; but having to preside over a church and direct its spiritual affairs, and having exercised no forethought, and taken no pains to prepare themselves by wise considerateness, prudence, and a subdued temper, for the government of the churches committed to their care, they fell into many mistakes at the beginning, and involved themselves at once in difficulties, and their churches in confusion.

" It has been brought as an objection against our system of church polity that it requires on the one hand, a greater degree of wisdom, meekness, and at the same time of firmness without obstinacy, on the part of the pastor,—and on the other, more humility and love, on the part of the people, in order to its working well, than can be looked for in the ordinary circumstances of human nature. But is not this its highest recommendation, and should we not endeavor to bring up human nature to the system of church polity, rather than attempt to bring down the system to the state of human nature ? The difficulty of government, however, in churches, which, though not in strict propriety of speech, democracies, yet allow the voice of the people in carrying out the laws of Christ, is confessedly not small, especially for a young man, who has just come from his retreat and his studies, and certainly requires much of the power of self-government, as well as the faculty of governing others. I entirely concur with Mr. Booth in the following opinion, contained in the charge to which I have made such pointed reference,—' Notwithstanding the fickleness and caprice of many private professors of religion with regard to their ministers, it has long appeared probable to me, that a majority of those uneasinesses, animosities, and separations, which, to the disgrace of religion, take place between pastors and their several churches, may be traced up either to the unchristian tempers, to the gross imprudence, or to the laziness and neglects of the pastors themselves.' I hold this up before you, my young brethren, when you are just entering on your ministerial career, for the purpose of solemn warning, and to impress upon you the idea, that if you fail as pastors, the great probability is that your failure will be the result of your own misconduct. On this chart of the ocean through which your future course is to be directed, I give the friendly indication, ' dangerous rocks here, on which many have made shipwreck of their ministerial usefulness, comfort, and respectability. But while in one respect there is something alarming in this view of your peril, there is in another something encouraging and consolatory, inasmuch as it is more easy to avoid the danger which we ourselves create than that which is created by others. While yet the pastorate is at a little distance, then, and it may be many months before you enter upon its difficulties, prepare for them by wise forethought. Revolve well and much the idea of presiding over a church with the meekness of wisdom, and the calm dignity of one who is anxious to be enabled so to direct its affairs as to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Let no idea of self-importance, magisterial authority, or official consequence, much less of autocratic lordli-

ness, enter into your mind. Be impressed with the deep and unspeakable importance of prudence and good temper; of a calm, sedate, serene mind; a cautious, though not timid and fearful disposition; a meekness not easily ruffled, and a self-possession which, upon perceiving that you have entered upon a wrong course, can step back with dignity, rather than rashly persevere. For all this prepare yourselves by pensive habits and by earnest prayer.

"Do not consider the pulpit as the only sphere of your duty, and preaching as your only work. Earnestly as I have enjoined you to endeavor to excel as preachers, I no less earnestly enjoin you not to merge the pastor in the preacher, a fault into which I think some, if not most of us, have fallen in this age. Amidst the stimulating exercises of the pulpit and the platform, in this day of constant excitement and bustling activity, the more retired and quiet, but scarcely less useful, occupations of the catechiser and pastoral visitor, are in danger of being quite forgotten. Study well the meaning of our only and peculiarly expressive denominational appellative, as ministers, I mean the word PASTOR: strip it of its Latin form, which in part destroys the power of its signification, and look at it in its Saxon dress as SHEPHERD, and go forth with all the duties of this beautiful, tender, and even tasteful representation of your office in full view. You are going to *shepherd*, if I may turn the noun into a verb, the flock, to feed the sheep, and the lambs too. Yes, the lambs. Let them be, as they ever are in the eye and heart of every good and wise shepherd, a considerable object of your official care and attention. Resume the good old-fashioned practice of catechizing the children, and unite with this the modern practice of Bible-classes for youth. Realize in your own experience the exquisitely beautiful allusion of Goldsmith, where he represents the children of the parish following with reverent yet familiar affection their minister,

'To pluck the good man's gown, and share his smile.'

Be peculiarly attentive to the young men, especially those who are of the educated class, and endeavor to train them up to be pillars in the church, when their fathers are removed to the temple above. We have neither right nor reason to complain that our young people go off to the world in all its gayeties and pleasures, if we take no pains to cultivate their minds, form their character, and attach them both to ourselves, and to our system. Take a deep interest in the welfare of the Sunday school. It belongs to you of right and propriety to do so: for I maintain that the pastor is the general superintendent of all the public religious instruction that is carried on in connection with his congregation, and that the Sunday school is one department of his duty. Bestow a kind, but not a dictatorial, attention upon the teachers, in training and fitting them for their work. Be the friend of your people, and let it be felt by them that you are so; not by convivial feasting, idle gossip, or political discussion, but by watchfulness over their spiritual welfare, gentle yet faithful rebuke, tender sympathy, pastoral visitation, and a deep interest in the religious character of their children. Avoid all undignified familiarity. Respect yourself, and teach every one to respect you. Let no man despise you. Without assuming official pomp, or affecting the odor of extraordinary sanctity, or gathering up yourself into clerical stiffness, or exhibiting religion in the type of awfulness and gloom, remember that a bishop, however young, must be grave and serious: and provided he have these qualities of character, he may be

as cheerful and pleasant, as sincere religion and good temper can make him. Many young ministers have done themselves irreparable mischief, at their entrance upon their work, by allowing their cheerfulness to degenerate into facetiousness and levity. Never forget that they who see you on week days, will be gathered round your pulpit on the following Sabbath, and that your demeanor and conversation in the former should not hinder, but help them in profiting by your sermons in the latter. Who can look up with confidence, in reference to their soul's affairs, to the fribble, or the fop? Your youth is with some persons a little check to that veneration and deference, with which the Christian minister should be regarded; how much is the power of this check increased, when frivolity is associated with juvenility.

"I would especially enjoin upon you a devoted attention to the most interesting class in all your charge, I mean those who are called the anxious inquirers after salvation. The stricken deer, bleeding in the thicket unknown, and therefore unobserved, will require all your tenderness and skill, first to find them out, and then to heal and comfort them. Make it a business, a real, constant business, to find out the individuals that have been interested, impressed, and convinced by your preaching. Not only be accessible to them when they solicit an interview, but draw them out by invitation; have set times and places to meet them; make them feel that you have an ear to hear their inquiries after salvation, and a heart that feels for their solicitude, and yearns over them. Like the Good and Great Shepherd, gather these lambs in your arms and carry them in your bosom. Be very tender in dealing with them, not to break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax. The first signs and exercises of the spiritual life are in some cases so feeble and delicate, that too rude and rough a handling may endanger their existence. I have been astonished and grieved sometimes to be informed, that what I intended only as faithfulness, has been mistaken for harshness, and that where I only wished to guard against self-deception, I have administered discouragement. You will find, that to deal faithfully, yet tenderly with inquirers is the most difficult part of your work as a teacher, for which you will need a rich fund of experimental religion, and considerable powers of spiritual discrimination.

"Study, then, to be the wise, discreet, and vigilant pastor, as well as the impressive, popular, and useful preacher; for it is the union of both these that constitutes the able minister of the New Covenant."

After all these quotations, we must yet assure our readers that we have omitted several equally important, on the necessity of deep personal piety,—on the importance of a right choice of a companion for life, and on other topics. Let no one complain that so many of our pages have been occupied with this subject, till he can tell us of one more momentous to the church and to the world. With one other passage from Mr. James's *Counsels* we will close our article. We judge the remarks to be even more applicable to our country than to England:—

"If anything need be added to enforce all I have said, I would suggest to you the circumstances of the times in which you are going forth

into the church of Christ, and stepping upon the world's great theatre of action. Man's life, and of course the ministerial office and character, also, have derived new importance from the eventful age in which we of this generation, are destined to exist. 'There are times,' says Mr. Hall, 'in which the moral world seems to stand still; there are others, when it seems impelled toward its goal with accelerated force. The present is a period more interesting, perhaps, than any which has been known in the whole flight of time. The scenes of Providence thicken so fast upon us, and are shifted with so strange a rapidity, that it looks as if the great drama of the world were drawing to a close.' It is not, however, so much the *world* as the *church*, that is now being shaken. Enemies to pure and simple Christianity that we imagined had grown old and effete, are renewing their youth—controversies which we supposed had been well nigh settled, are revived with all the fierceness of polemical warfare—and elements of mischief which we concluded had become extinct, are fermenting and ready to burst into a conflagration. The moral and religious, as well as political, horizon appears strange, unquiet, and portentous. On the one hand we see education, knowledge, civil liberty, and evangelical religion, going forth to conquer the evils of society, and bless mankind—on the other we behold a spirit of delusion rising up, and making mighty efforts and rapid strides to arrest the progress, and roll back the tide of improvement, to undo the work of the Reformation, to ruin the cause for which patriots bled in the field and martyrs suffered at the stake, and to extinguish the light of evangelical religion amidst the thick darkness of papal superstition: while notwithstanding, we behold the march of discovery, commerce, and war, opening all nations to the missionary spirit which is advancing to cover them with the blessings of Christianity, and to bring on the millennial reign of the Son of God.

"What men ought you to be, or at any rate to strive to be, if you would be worthy of such an age: what grave, and serious, and reflective men! How receptive should you be of the potent influences that are passing over you: how expansive, to grasp the objects presented to your moral sympathies; and how impulsive in communicating whatever power you possess, to aid the great movements that are going on around you. How should you labor by deep thoughtfulness, and fervent piety, and high communings with the Infinite Mind of the Great Governor of the universe, to prepare yourselves for your part in the field of action. To be ciphers at any time, and under any circumstances, would be humiliating enough, but to be insignificant at such a crisis in the world's history as this, is the very depth of degradation: may this humiliation not be yours."

ARTICLE VIII.

VITAL CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE EDITOR.

VITAL CHRISTIANITY: or Essays and Discourses on the Religions of Man and the Religion of God. By ALEXANDER VINET, D. D. Translated, with an Introduction, by ROBERT TURNBULL. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 12mo., pp. 355. 1845.

NOTHING could be more appropriate, at the present time, than a volume of first-rate evangelical discourses; and yet nothing, we fear, would stand a poorer chance to be bought and read. The day-books of our great publishing houses would, doubtless, show that the taste of the community leads them another way. A different sort of literature is in higher demand. This is rendered but too evident by an inquiry into the nature of the supply. The bookmakers create, and the booksellers issue, what the people desire. As the legislation of a free State is often said to be the exponent of public opinion, so the readable matter sent forth from the press is, to a great extent, the exponent of public taste. The people, in the main, govern the booksellers; not the booksellers the people. The comparative circulation of works in the essay style, or of sermons, or of scientific treatises, of narratives, or of fiction, is an index to the state of the community; an index to the prevailing tastes and pursuits of men; an index to the elevation or depression, for the time being, of the standard of learning, virtue and religion; an index to the comparative prevalence of stability, strength and depth of character, on the one hand, or its frivolity and weakness on the other. By the aid of a conventional arrangement, the publishers might, in some small degree, control the public taste in this respect. They might withhold deleterious aliment from the common mind, and disseminate only the seeds of virtue and truth. It would be hard, however, to secure general assent to such an arrangement. In a country, one of whose great privileges is the freedom of

the press, and where men can be found who will undertake any thing for the sake of gain, it would be impossible thoroughly to exorcise the current literature. The principle of evil, driven out from one entrenchment, would only establish itself in another. And if America did not yield the "light bread" demanded by the voracious appetite of our readers, England, or some other country, would readily be laid under contribution, and compelled to pour it in. Of the one thousand persons to whom the press of the city of Boston alone directly gives employment, how very few, within the last five years, have been engaged in printing sermons! The number in New York must be far less. The issues of this sort of literature have been vastly exceeded by the issues of a literature of another kind. And the editions which have appeared have been much more slowly disposed of. The booksellers' shelves do not show them with any prominence, nor do the mass of readers ask for them. This is a bad feature of the age, but a feature which actually exists.

But why should this species of literature be held at a discount by the reading public? It is admitted that it is, in some respects, of a less exciting character than some others. It deals but little in mere narrative. It is calculated to awaken seriousness. It turns a man's thoughts upwards to God, or inward upon himself, or forward to eternity. It shuts the eye upon this world, and opens it upon immortality. It leads away from the common scene of human thought and action. It abjures the present, and dwells in the future; or rather, by a practical association, it unites the future with the present, and brings, to cast their shadow over this world, the images of realities which belong to the world to come. And many persons either do not appreciate, or they dislike, that which pertains to unseen things. They have no perception of the value and importance of that which they cannot see, and hear, and touch. If it cannot benefit them physically, adding to their wealth or their comfort, to the elegances and luxuries of life, or affording a temporary excitement and amusement, if it do not promise to increase their store of knowledge, to make them more respected and influential in society, or more agreeable and welcome companions, they are ready to spurn it from them as not belonging to their line of things. It is passed by, as a commodity not wanted. Even the word of life is unwittingly thrust from

them, and, the heirs of a boundless immortality, their spirits are condemned to feed on the world's husks. They are skilful in the arithmetic of trade; but they do not comprehend the arithmetic of eternity. Questions of profit and loss, and of comparative values, are within the sphere of their every day employments, and they are guilty of few mistakes in solving them. But the comparative values of time and immortality, of earth and heaven, and of the means of accumulating the temporary and trivial benefits of the one, or of preparing the soul for the lasting glories of the other,—these are strange and irksome themes to them, from which they are fain to turn away with disgust. If men did but consider their relations to the other world, to the spiritual intelligences that inhabit it, to the omniscient Searcher of hearts and witness of all actions, to the truths which he has revealed, and to the infinite state to which they are destined, there would be a change in the tide of their feelings. New light would shine from the quarter from which it is now too often excluded; new themes would assume an interest in their sight; the neglected Scriptures would be resorted to; and expositions of the meaning and spirit of the word of God would be welcomed to every man's house and heart. And, in this change, volumes of practical religion would soon come into demand.

The occasional issue of such a volume, though it be only from houses professedly religious, we hail with satisfaction as the sure index of the existence of a little spiritual life in the community. Especially are we pleased with an effort, like the discourses of Vinet, to meet the latest forms of infidelity by the antagonism of so appropriate and living an argument. It is suitable that the antidote to modern skepticism, open or latent, should be administered in the time-honored form of sermons. And though it comes to us from across the water, and is the production of a man of strange speech, it is none the less welcome on that account. Indeed, the region in which he resides witnessed this form of infidelity before it was imported to this country, and translated out of the works of German rationalists. It is appropriate, therefore, that the original should be answered, rather than the version and modification adapting it to our country,—that the fountain should be sweetened by throwing in the salt of the gospel, rather than the streams.

Much benefit might be anticipated from a general reading of volumes of this class. The ministry of the gospel is God's appointed method for the salvation of men. And printed sermons are but a silent ministry. They preach to men in private, and with a specialty of application unknown to the Sabbath and its instructions. Their teachings are not confined to the Lord's day. They may be consulted as a sanctifying instrumentality, pervading the business of the world, and so interrupting its pursuits as to prevent a too earnest cleaving to its follies, or a too great absorption in its cares. They may teach in secret, and in the silence of midnight. And their unobtrusive instructions may convert and save the soul. Unlike the words of the living preacher, if the reader do not comprehend them, he may return to them and question them again and again. He may linger upon their discriminating passages. He may wait, and warm his soul with their devotional thoughts, reading and re-reading them, till he is baptized into their spirit and power. He may dwell upon their application till he is moved, melted, persuaded. If they treat of doctrine, he may become sound in faith, through their accurate and scriptural reasonings; if of experience, he may at leisure examine his own heart by their rules; if of duty, he may be secretly stimulated to efficient piety and holy action. The reading of sermons may lead a man to heaven. Certainly they will exert a beneficial influence over his life. And it would be no small gain if we could say of them no more than that they keep a man from frivolous and unprofitable reading, and employ him in that which, if it do not perceptibly benefit, certainly will not injure him.

Many sermons have a historical value. They often show what themes interested the public mind at a given time and place. They often indicate what errors in faith or practice are or were prevalent. They open to us the spirit and character of their author. They instruct us indirectly into the spirit and character of the age which has produced them. From many sermons, it is true, the information to be gleaned on some of these points is scanty and uncertain. But on all of them, such discourses as those of South, for example, and these of Vinet, are rich in instruction.

It would be interesting, if this were the proper place, to trace the influence on the pulpit of the various theories,

errors, and philosophies, which, at different times, have existed in the Christian world. Puseyism has doubtless wrought upon the English pulpit a perceptible influence. The statelessness and the forms of Episcopacy give a character to many of the sermons which issue from the consecrated lips of its priests. The transcendentalism and covert infidelity of the present age, and the open skepticism of some former ones, have called forth from the servants of God the necessary and powerful antidote. The secret place of their thunder has been opened, and they have revealed their hidden power, in stemming the tide which has threatened to swallow up at once truth and holiness. The character of the age, of any given age, gives character to its pulpit performances, in reference to their extent, their themes, and the mode of treating them. But upon such topics we must not linger.

From the Introduction to this volume, by the Translator, we learn the principal points in the history of the author of the Discourses. Alexander Vinet was born June 17, 1797, in Lausanne, Switzerland. He was destined by his father to the clerical profession, and with this in view, pursued the ordinary course of studies at the academy in his native city. At the age of twenty-two, he accepted the place of Professor of the French language and literature in the University of Basle. When it is recollect that this is the seat of the labors of De Wette, and of similar men, whose rationalistic views on religious topics go far towards universal skepticism, we can easily see why his discourses took the form which they have assumed in the volume before us. Their themes were furnished by the errors with which Vinet was but too familiar. He desired to meet those errors before the public with the antagonism of truth. In 1819, he was ordained a minister of the gospel. In 1837, his native canton tendered him an invitation to the vacant chair of the professorship of theology in the Academy or College of Lausanne; a station which he occupies "at the present time, revered and loved by all who can appreciate talent united with moral excellence."

In 1830, Mr. Vinet published two discourses, one on the *Intolerance of the Gospel*, the other on the *Tolerance of the Gospel*, which excited great attention. In 1836, he published in Paris his "*Discours sur Quelques Sujets Religieux*," and some time after, his "*Nouveaux Discours*," which have passed through several editions in the original. From these

two volumes are drawn the Discourses contained in the present volume. More recently, Mr. Vinet has published his "Essay on the Manifestation of Religious Principles, and on the Separation of Church and State,"—a book which has called forth many opposers and defenders. The correspondent of the *New York Observer*, in alluding to this treatise, says:—

"It bears the impress of the author's mind. Mr. Vinet is fond of philosophical subjects, and discusses them in a masterly manner. What would embarrass others has no difficulty for him. He is naturally profound and lofty, and he can pursue his thoughts even to the remotest abstractions. He is a theoretical rather than a practical man; he dwells constantly in the regions of pure thought, and there displays freely the full force and whole extent of his mind."

This work has been translated both into German by Dr. Volkmann, and into English by Charles Theodore Jones. It has attracted much attention particularly in Germany, and is universally admired on the continent of Europe.

In describing the manner of Vinet, Mr. Turnbull remarks that it is a peculiarity of all his productions, that,—

"They are 'born, not made,' originated, not manufactured. His soul has never been cast into any artificial mould. It has great clearness, elasticity and strength. He is therefore entirely free from hackneyed phrases, and stereotyped modes of thought. His discourses are drawn fresh from his own profound spirit. While perusing them, you feel as if you were listening, not to the mere preacher, but to the deep thinker and the man of God. He never transcends the limits of his own personal experience; but that being the experience at once of a great and a good man, it possesses a peculiar warmth and beauty. 'One must breathe the spirit,' says Pindar, 'before he can speak.'—'Out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh,' is the testimony of Jesus Christ. Our author, we think, understands this, and hence approaches as near as possible to the model which John Foster has in his mind, when he insists so strongly on the necessity, in evangelical writings, of naturalness and entire freedom from cant. Indeed Vinet distinctly acknowledges the great importance of this quality, and urges the same views as those of Foster's *Essay on the Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion.*"

He adds, in another place,

"As a writer, Vinet has many qualities akin to those of John Foster, one of the most powerful thinkers and vigorous writers England has ever produced. He has the same earnest and contemplative spirit; the same freshness and originality of thought; the same beauty and strength of diction, with more of ease and gracefulness of expression. The thoughts of Foster, to borrow a figure of Robert Hall, are presented to us in the shape of large and brilliant masses of bullion. Vinet's are wrought into beautiful and elegant forms."

D'Aubigné, the author of the popular "History of the Reformation," etc., has described Vinet as the "Chalmers of Switzerland." Laying hold of the idea, Mr. Turnbull has instituted a comparison, in an ardent and glowing manner, between the two divines. As a fair specimen of the Introductory chapter by Mr. Turnbull, we extract that portion which contains this parallel. The chapter, as a whole, is creditable to its author.

"Every one familiar with the writings of both men, will readily allow that they resemble each other in breadth and energy of mind, originality of conception, and splendor of diction. Chalmers, we think, has more of energy and passion, but less of philosophical acumen and delicacy of perception; more of oratorical force and affluence of imagery, but less of real beauty, perspicacity, and power of argument. His discourses resemble mountain torrents, dashing in strength and beauty, amid rocks and woods, carrying every thing before them, and gathering force as they leap and foam from point to point, in their progress to the sea. Vinet's, on the other hand, are like deep and beautiful rivers, passing with calm but irresistible majesty, through rich and varied scenery; now gliding around the base of some lofty mountain, then sweeping through meadows and cornfields, anon reflecting in their placid bosom some old castle, or vine-covered hill, taking villages and cities in their course, and bearing the commerce and population of the neighboring countries on their deepening and expanding tide. The diction of Chalmers is strikingly energetic, but somewhat rugged and involved, occasionally, too, rather unfinished and clumsy. Vinet's is pure and classical, pellucid as one of his own mountain lakes, and yet remarkably energetic and free.

"Another thing in which they differ has reference to the mode in which they develop a subject. Chalmers grasps one or two great conceptions, and expands them into a thousand beautiful and striking forms. His great power lies in making luminous and impressive the single point upon which he would fix his reader's attention, running it, like a thread of gold, through the web of his varied and exhaustless imagery. Vinet penetrates into the heart of his subject, analyzes it with care, lays it open to inspection, advances from one point to another, adds thought to thought, illustration to illustration, till it becomes clear and familiar to the mind of the reader. His intellect is distinguished as much by its logical acumen, as its powers of illustration and ornament. He seldom repeats his thoughts in the same discourse, and rarely fails in clearness of conception and arrangement. Chalmers delights and persuades by the grandeur of his ideas, and the fervor of his language, but he adds little to the stock of our information. He abounds in repetitions, and is not unfrequently confused in his arrangement, and somewhat negligent in his statements. Though eloquent and powerful, his discourses are not remarkably instructive. But this is not the case with those of Vinet. While they charm by their beauty, and convince by their persuasive power, they abound in original views, and lead the mind into fresh channels of reflection and feeling. While one is satisfied with reading the productions of the great Scottish divine once or twice, he recurs again and again to those of his Swiss compeer. They abound in 'the

seeds of things,' and possess a remarkable power to quicken and expand the mind. On this account they ought to be read, or rather studied, slowly and deliberately. Like the works of John Howe, which Robert Hall was accustomed to read so frequently, they will repay many perusals.

" Both of these distinguished men are truly evangelical in their theological views; they develop with equal power the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, and in their several spheres have done much to promote evangelical religion among the higher and more intelligent circles of society. Both have laid their great literary and scientific attainments under contribution to illustrate and adorn the religion of the cross, and have devoted much time and attention to those great moral and politico-ecclesiastical questions which at present are agitating the whole Christian world. On most of these questions, the views of Vinet are more thorough and consistent, and aim at a complete separation of the church from the state; a result, however, to which Chalmers has come in practice, and which he will, unquestionably, yet reach even in theory. They are alike in this,—that both of them are possessed of great simplicity and earnestness of character. Both are men of genius, and men of God. As a writer, Vinet leads the movement in Switzerland and France against formalism and skepticism in the church, and particularly against the union of church and state. Chalmers is doing the same, at least by means of action, in Scotland and England. Both of them have been professors in the colleges of their native lands; both have seceded from the national church, and yet occupy important places as theological teachers. They have written largely and successfully on the subject of moral science, in connection with Christianity, and have been called, by their published discourses, especially to address men of high station and cultivated minds.

" It is but justice to say that Chalmers, as a preacher, is probably more popular than Vinet, and that his writings, thus far, have secured a wider circulation. This, however, will not, in our judgment, be the case permanently. Vinet must become popular, if not with the mass, yet with the thoughtful and cultivated, wherever he is known."

The sermons of Vinet, though not in the form of set doctrinal discourses, are richly imbued with the distinguishing and fundamental truths of evangelical Christianity. Not in a stereotyped phraseology, but in the sober forms of common sense, appealing at once to the understanding and the heart, he speaks from across the ocean, and out of the midst of infidelity and formalism, a language which the Christian is at no loss to understand. He awakens our sympathy, when he exposes the same errors which have attempted to overshadow our own shores, and presents as the simple, but efficient antidote, the uncompromising gospel of Christ. We are ready to yield him the right hand of our cordial fellowship, when he discourses of the truths which we have lisped in our infancy, and which have grown up with us in our riper years. The gospel which he preaches is melodious to our ears as

the sound of his native tongue to a home-sick emigrant, who has wandered across the ocean to a distant clime, and among a people of strange speech. Most of the principal doctrines of Christianity are incorporated into his discourses, in such a form as not to repel, but to convince and win. Though, as we remarked, this volume gives us no set discourses on the various points of systematic theology, we could easily deduce the author's creed from their practical instructions. But our space will permit us only to give a few extracts, as specimens of his style and manner.

We shall first present an extract on the **Mysteries of Christianity.**

"If a claim so unjust could be admitted, where, I ask you, would be the limit of your demands? Already you require more from God than he has accorded to angels; for these eternal mysteries which trouble you,—the harmony of the divine prescience with human freedom,—the origin of evil and its ineffable remedy,—the incarnation of the eternal WORD,—the relations of the God-man with his Father,—the atoning virtue of his sacrifice,—the regenerating efficacy of the Spirit-comforter,—all these things are secrets, the knowledge of which is hidden from angels themselves, who, according to the word of the apostle, stoop to explore their depths, and cannot. If you reproach the Eternal for having kept the knowledge of these divine mysteries to himself, why do you not reproach him for the thousand other limits he has prescribed to you? Why not reproach him for not having given you wings, like a bird, to visit the regions which till now have been scanned only by your eyes? Why not reproach him for not giving you, besides the five senses with which you are provided, ten other senses which he has perhaps granted to other creatures, and which procure for them perceptions of which you have no idea? Why not, in fine, reproach him, for having caused the darkness of night to succeed the brightness of day invariably on the earth? Ah! you do not reproach him for that. You love that night which brings rest to so many fatigued bodies and weary spirits; which suspends, in so many wretches, the feeling of grief;—that night, during which orphans, slaves and criminals cease to be, because over all their misfortunes and sufferings, it spreads, with the opiate of sleep, the thick veil of oblivion; you love that night, which, peopling the deserts of the heavens with ten thousand stars, not known to the day, reveals the infinite to our ravished imagination. Well, then, why do you not, for a similar reason, love the night of divine mysteries,—night, gracious and salutary, in which reason humbles itself, and finds refreshment and repose; where the darkness even is a revelation; where one of the principal attributes of God, immensity, discovers itself much more fully to our mind; where, in fine, the tender relations he has permitted us to form with himself, are guarded from all admixture of familiarity, by the thought that the Being who has humbled himself to us, is, at the same time, the inconceivable God who reigns before all time, who includes in himself all existences and all conditions of existence,—the centre of all thought, the law of all law, the supreme and

final reason of every thing! So that, if you are just, instead of reproaching him for the secrets of religion, you will bless him that he has enveloped you in mysteries.

“ But this claim is not only unjust towards God; it is also in itself exceedingly *unreasonable*.

“ What is religion? It is God putting himself in communication with man; the Creator with the creature, the infinite with the finite. There already, without going further, is a mystery; a mystery common to all religions. If, then, every thing which is a mystery offends you, you are arrested on the threshold, I will not say, of Christianity, but of every religion; I say, even of that religion which is called *natural*, because it rejects revelation and miracles; for it necessarily implies, at the very least, a connection, a communication of some sort between God and man,—the contrary being equivalent to atheism. Your claim prevents you from having any belief; and because you have not been willing to be Christians, it will not be allowed you to be deists.

“ ‘ It is of no consequence,’ you say, ‘ we pass over that difficulty; we suppose between God and us connections we cannot conceive; we admit them because they are necessary to us. But this is the only step we are willing to take; we have already yielded too much to yield more.’ Say more,—say you have granted too much not to grant much more, not to grant all! You have consented to admit, without comprehending it, that there may be communications from God to you, and from you to God. But consider well what is implied in such a supposition. It implies that you are dependent, and yet free,—this you do not comprehend—it implies that the Spirit of God can make itself understood by your spirit,—this you do not comprehend;—it implies that your prayers may exert an influence on the will of God,—this you do not comprehend. It is necessary you should swallow all these mysteries, in order to establish with God connections the most vague and superficial, and by the very side of which atheism is placed. And when, by a powerful effort with yourselves, you have done so much as to admit these mysteries, you recoil from those of Christianity! You have accepted the foundation, and refuse the superstructure! You have accepted the principle, and refuse the details! You are right, no doubt, as soon as it is proved to you that the religion which contains these mysteries does not come from God; or rather, that these mysteries contain contradictory ideas. But you are not justified in denying them, for the sole reason that you do not understand them; and the reception you have given to the first kind of mysteries, compels you, by the same rule, to receive the others.

“ This is not all. Not only are mysteries an inseparable part, nay, the very substance of all religion; but it is absolutely impossible that a true religion should not present a great number of mysteries. If it is true, it ought to teach more truths respecting God and divine things, than any other, than all others together; but each of these truths has a relation to the infinite, and by consequence, borders on a mystery. How should it be otherwise in religion, when it is thus in nature itself? Behold God in nature! The more he gives us to contemplate, the more he gives to astonish. To each creature is attached some mystery. Each grain of sand is an abyss! Now, if the manifestation which God has made of himself in nature suggests to the observer a thousand questions which cannot be answered, how will it be, when to that first revelation, another is added; when God the Creator and Preserver reveals himself under new aspects as God the Reconciler and Saviour?

Shall not mysteries multiply with discoveries? With each new day, shall we not see associated a new night? And shall we not purchase each increase of knowledge with an increase of ignorance? Has not the doctrine of grace, so necessary, so consoling, alone opened a profound abyss, into which, for eighteen centuries, rash and restless spirits have been constantly plunging?

“It is, then, clearly necessary that Christianity should, more than any other religion, be mysterious, simply because it is true. Like mountains, which, the higher they are, cast the larger shadows, the gospel is the more obscure and mysterious on account of its sublimity. After this, will you be indignant that you do not comprehend every thing in the gospel? It would, forsooth, be a truly surprising thing, if the ocean could not be held in the hollow of your hand, or uncreated wisdom within the limits of your intelligence! It would be truly unfortunate, if a finite being could not embrace the infinite, and that, in the vast assemblage of things, there should be some idea beyond its grasp! In other words, it would be truly unfortunate, if God himself should know something which man does not know!

“Let us acknowledge, then, how insensate is such a claim when it is made with reference to religion.

“But let us also recollect how much, in making such a claim, we shall be in opposition to ourselves; for the submission we dislike in religion, we cherish in a thousand other things. It happens to us every day to admit things we do not understand; and to do so without the least repugnance. The things, the knowledge of which is refused us, are much more numerous than we perhaps think. Few diamonds are perfectly pure; still fewer truths are perfectly clear. The union of our soul with our body is a mystery; our most familiar emotions and affections are a mystery; the action of thought and will is a mystery; our very existence is a mystery. Why do we admit all these various facts? Is it because we understand them? No, certainly,—but because they are self-evident, and because they are truths by which we live. In religion, we have no other course to take. We ought to know whether it is true and necessary; and once convinced of these two points, we ought, like the angels, to submit to the necessity of being ignorant of some things.

“And why do we not submit cheerfully to a privation, which after all is not one? To desire the knowledge of mysteries is to desire what is utterly *useless*; it is to raise, as I have said before, a claim the most vain and idle. What, in reference to us, is the object of the gospel? Evidently to regenerate and save us. But it attains this end entirely by the things it reveals. Of what use would it be to know those it conceals from us? We possess the knowledge which can enlighten our consciences, rectify our inclinations, renew our hearts; what should we gain, if we possessed other knowledge? It infinitely concerns us to know that the Bible is the word of God; does it equally concern us to know in what way the holy men that wrote it were moved by the Holy Ghost? It is of infinite moment to us to know that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; need we know precisely in what way the divine and human natures are united in his adorable person? It is of infinite importance for us to know that unless we are born again we cannot enter the kingdom of God, and that the Holy Spirit is the author of that new birth;—shall we be further advanced, if we know the divine process by which

that wonder is performed? Is it not enough for us to know the truths that save? Of what use, then, would it be to know those which have not the slightest bearing on our salvation? 'Though I know all mysteries,' says St. Paul, 'and have not charity, I am nothing.' St. Paul was content not to know, provided he had charity; shall not we, following his example, be content also without knowledge, provided that, like him, we have charity, that is to say, life?

But some one will say, If the knowledge of mysteries is really without influence on our salvation, why have they been indicated to us at all? What if it should be to teach us not to be too prodigal of our *wherethoress*? if it should be to serve as an exercise of our faith, a test of our submission! But we will not stop with such a reply.

Observe, I pray you, in what manner the mysteries of which you complain have taken their part in religion. You readily perceive they are not by themselves, but associated with truths which have a direct bearing on your salvation. They contain them, they serve to envelop them; but they are not themselves the truths that save. It is with these mysteries as it is with the vessel which contains a medicinal draught; it is not the vessel that cures, but the draught; yet the draught could not be presented without the vessel. Thus each truth that saves is contained in a mystery, which, in itself, has no power to save. So the great work of expiation is necessarily attached to the incarnation of the Son of God, which is a mystery; so the sanctifying graces of the new covenant are necessarily connected with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which is a mystery; so, too, the divinity of religion finds a seal and an attestation in the miracles, which are mysteries. Every where the light is born from darkness, and darkness accompanies the light. These two orders of truths are so united, so interlinked, that you cannot remove the one without the other; and each of the mysteries you attempt to tear from religion, would carry with it one of the truths which bear directly on your regeneration and salvation. Accept the mysteries, then, not as truths that can save you, but as the necessary conditions of the merciful work of the Lord in your behalf."

The following extract, on the same topic, is peculiarly timely. New England and Old England, Germany, France, and Switzerland bear witness to its truth.

"Do not suppose that Christianity, in order to place itself in harmony with the age, will complacently leave out a single idea. It is from its inflexibility that it is strong; it has no need to give up any thing, in order to be in harmony with whatever is beautiful, legitimate and true; for Christianity is itself the type of perfection. It is the same to-day as in the time of the Reformers, in the time of the Fathers of the church, in the time of the Apostles and of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless it is not a religion which flatters the natural man; and worldlings, in keeping at a distance from it, furnish sufficient evidence that Christianity is a system foreign to their natures. Those who dare not reject it, are forced to soften it down. They divest it of its barbarisms, its *myths*, as they are pleased to call them; they render it even reasonable,—but, strange to say, when it is reasonable, it has no power; and in this, is like one of the most wonderful creatures in the animal world, which, when it loses its sting, dies. Zeal, fervor, holiness, and love disappear

with these strange doctrines ; the salt has lost its savor, and none can tell how to restore it. But, on the other hand, do you not, in general, perceive when there is a revival of these doctrines, Christianity is inspired with new life, faith is re-animated and zeal abounds ? Do not ask, Upon what soil, or in what system, must grow these precious plants ? You can reply in advance, that it is only in the rude and rough soil of orthodoxy, under the shadow of those mysteries which confound human reason, and from which it loves to remove as far as possible.”

On the doctrine of atonement, he speaks out of the fullness of a heart experimentally acquainted with divine truth.

“ So long as man, with reason alone, has climbed up Calvary, and gone around the cross, he has seen nothing but darkness in the divine work of expiation. For whole ages might he remain in contemplation before that mysterious fact, but would not succeed in raising from it the veil. Ah ! how can reason, cold reason, comprehend such a thing as the substitution of the innocent for the guilty ; as the compassion which reveals itself in severity of punishment, in that shedding of blood, without which, it is said, there can be no expiation. It will not make, I dare affirm, a single step towards the knowledge of that divine mystery, until casting away its ungrateful speculations, it yields to a power more capable the task of terminating the difficulty. That power is the heart ; which fixes itself entirely on the love that shines forth in the work of redemption ; cleaves without distraction to the sacrifice of the adorable victim ; lets the natural impression of that unparalleled love penetrate freely, and develop itself gradually, in its interior. O how quickly, then, are the veils torn away and the shadows dissipated for ever ! How little difficulty does he that loves find in comprehending love ! How natural to him does it appear, that God, infinite in all things, should be infinite also in his compassion ! How inconceivable to him, on the other hand, that human hearts should not be capable of feeling the beauty of a work, without which God could not manifest himself entire ! How astonished is he at the blindness of those who read and re-read the Scriptures without comprehending the central truth ; who pass and repass before a love all divine, without recognizing or even perceiving a work all divine ! ”

In the sermon on “ Grace and Law,” he speaks thus of the moral efficacy of atonement.

“ Thus, then, in the idea of evangelical grace, the moral law is found highly glorified. Why should it not be found equally glorified in the hearts of those who receive grace ? How can we believe seriously in that bloody expiation, without perceiving all that is odious in sin, vowing towards it a profound hatred, and desiring, if I may so express it, to do honor to that ineffable and unmerited grace ? What ! has Christ died for our sins, and can we love our sins ! What ! has Christ died because there is a law, and shall we not feel ourselves bound to redouble, and constantly to renew our respect for the law ? Human nature must have lost all its essential traits, all the fibres of the heart must have been broken, when the conviction of so great a benefit has failed to excite all our love ; and it would be a strange love, which did not produce obedience. He who says in his heart, ‘ Let us sin, that

grace may abound ! ' must be a man, who has neither understood nor received grace ; for the natural and reasonable conclusion is this, since grace abounds, let us sin no more ! Thus, as I said, at the commencement of these remarks, grace leads back to the law."

We present also a brief extract on humility essential to salvation.

" Let us here explain ourselves thoroughly, and not give you occasion to suppose that one virtue is more than another the condition of salvation. Jesus Christ has only desired us to understand that his religion is of such a nature, that if any one will not consent to humble himself, he cannot be his disciple. He might equally have said that no one can be such, unless he love. He has said so, and his disciples have repeated it. But humility itself is a proof that one loves ; he who loves has no difficulty in humbling himself ; he who does not humble himself, does not love. He who can see the Son of God descend to the earth, partake of our sufferings, degrade himself to the rank of a malefactor, and drink opprobrium like water, that *he* a sinner, may enjoy eternal life in the bosom of the Father ; he who sees this, and believes it, and still imagines that the disciple is more than his Master, and the servant more than his Lord ; he who cannot persuade himself to drink one drop of the cup which Jesus has drained ; he who cannot lay at the foot of the cross his frivolous pretensions, his independence of spirit, his confidence in himself, his petty glory, his vanity ; he who pretends to rest upon a throne in the presence of Jesus bound to the stake of infamy, unquestionably does not love. And on the other hand, he who is not affected by such devotion, who can believe in Christ without loving him, whose heart does not permit itself to be caught in the snare of mercy, he doubtless is not humbled. Principles which take each other's places by turns, love and humility, cannot exist separately in the soul. Go down into its depths, and you will find them united there, blended in a single sentiment, whose different qualities are developed together by the same emotion and the same virtue.

" But if reason tells us that the gospel is of such a nature that we cannot receive it in deed and in truth, without becoming children, reason can do nothing more. It abandons us in this affair, as in others, at the point where the true difficulty begins. Reason is not the efficient cause of any of the emotions which spring up within us. All that it can do is to conduct us into the presence of facts ; then it retires, and leaves the facts to affect and modify us. It is thus that it places us in the presence of the fact of redemption, a fact which includes this singularity, that however well fitted it may appear by its nature to touch our hearts, it yet meets there the most formidable obstacles. In theory, we say to ourselves, that in this fact every thing is so combined as to move the heart ; in practice, it would appear as if it were only fitted to revolt it. Thus the gospel does not ascribe to our natural faculties the power to believe in it, and appropriate it to ourselves. ' No one can believe,' it says to us, ' that Jesus is the Son of God, but by the Holy Spirit ; ' which doubtless means, that no one can, without the aid of the Holy Spirit, indue himself with the dispositions of a true disciple of Jesus Christ. No one, to speak after the manner of our text, can enter the kingdom of heaven, except he be converted, and become a *little child.*'"

We had marked other passages, but our limits forbid us to use them. Whether we contemplate Mr. Vinet as a close, discriminating preacher, an elegant and forcible writer, or a fervent Christian, we cannot read his discourses without profit. They are above the ordinary rank of this class of productions. They will interest persons of every profession. They are particularly adapted to the present period, and to those parts of our country where formalism and covert infidelity have usurped the place of spiritual Christianity. The translator has done a good work in presenting them to the American public in so excellent a dress. Such a work is a worthy monument of his late visit to Europe. We are also indebted afresh to Merle D'Aubigné for this interesting volume; for it was by him that the attention of Mr. Turnbull was directed to the Discourses.

ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY NOTICES.

I. BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

1. *A Commentary on the Apocalypse.* By MOSES STUART. In 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 504. Andover. Allen, Morrill and Wardwell. 1845.

The Book of the Revelation is generally conceded to be encompassed with greater difficulties than any other part of the word of God. Its highly poetical and symbolic character render it more obscure than ordinary prophecy. There is no portion of the Scriptures in the interpretation of which, imagination and unfounded conjecture have had freer license; and none in which the commentator has more frequently turned prophet, and himself foretold events which seemed dimly shadowed forth in the symbols of the sacred writer. By a vast number of the writers on this book, the principles of a sound exegesis have been violated, and the words of the inspired penman have been forced into the support of their pre-conceived theories, concerning the latter days. The theory of Professor Stuart is, doubtless, correct, that the writer of the Apocalypse is to be regarded as deeply imbued with the spirit of the Hebrew prophets, thinking in their manner, and adopting their symbols; and he who would rightly interpret John, must, therefore, commence with a thorough study of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the rest. That former interpreters, proceeding on principles of exegesis which have led them to their several results, have, at least, in many instances, erred in their conclusions, is certain, from the fact that the same symbols have been understood by them to point to events so diverse. The Scriptures speak one language, the language of truth; and no events

will exactly answer the predictions of the sacred record, but the very events which it designs to point out.

We are happy in welcoming these long expected volumes from a commentator of so much ability and experience, and whose diligent study, extensive learning, habits of research and venerable age, entitle him not only to speak, but to be respectfully heard. The work is worthy of the source from which it proceeds. Even those who do not adopt its conclusions, will be profited and gratified by the various learning, the sound principles of criticism, and the profound discussions, which every where illustrate its pages. The whole of the first volume is occupied with the consideration of questions such as would be expected to arise,—embracing the comparison of the *Apocalypse* with other scriptural prophecies, on the object and style of the book, on its æsthetical character, on the question, whether it is a drama, on the hermeneutical principles applicable to the *Apocalypse*, on the circumstances of its original readers, on the author of the book, and the place and time of its composition, and the history of its exegesis. A large number of subsidiary topics are presented, and many ideas on the criticism of the work are set forth, in a manner adapted both to interest and profit the reader. The second volume is occupied in a commentary on the whole book, and several excursus on important topics which could not be appropriately extended in the body of the scholia. These discussions are on the angelology of the *Scriptures*, the symbolical use of numbers, the wounded head of the beast (13: 3) and the sixth king (17: 3, 10), the number of the beast (13: 18), designations of time in the *Apocalypse*, and the millennial resurrection. The commentary is in the general manner of the author in his other exegetical works; the views presented are essentially the same, which those who have enjoyed the privilege of being his pupils in years past, have heard from his lips in the lecture-room; though expressed, of course, with greater clearness, fullness and care, and sustained by a more extensive citation of authorities and refutation of objections.

One of the most important chapters in the book, as the hinge on which the interpretation turns, is that which treats of the time of the composition of the book. Many writers, following Irenæus, have placed it in the reign of Domitian, the last of the Cæsars,—of course, subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem. Prof. Stuart places it in the reign of Nero, which was some years earlier than that event. With a very gratifying clearness, he defends his position, showing that the almost united assent to the other and common theory is traceable to a reliance, without examination, on the real or apparent testimony of a passage in Irenæus. The theory which ascribes the banishment of John to the reign of Nero, opens a clear method for the exposition of the *Apocalypse*, wholly in accordance with the spirit and manner of the writings of the Hebrew prophets. It must be confessed, however, that the explanation of the book rests upon this single point; and a heavy portion of it falls to the ground, if this question in regard to time be differently disposed of. Some of the Germans, and among them Guerike, take the same view, in this respect, with Professor Stuart.

After the Introduction, and the letters to the seven churches, I—III, the Professor divides the book as follows: the Theophany, or Exordium to the principal visions, IV, the sealed book, V, the overthrow of the Jewish persecuting power, including, of course, the destruction of Jerusalem, VI—XI, the destruction of the Roman persecuting power, XII

—XIX, the era of the church's prosperity and the prevalence of the gospel, XX—XXI, 5, the Epilogue, XXII, 6—21. The several parts of the work seem admirably to harmonize with such a plan of interpretation. We have stated it in the most general form. Our readers will wish to receive the details from a thorough study of the work itself.

We have long been aware of the difficulty attending all the modern views of the Apocalypse; so great is both their difficulty and their disagreement, that we are disposed not to wonder that the work, though a "Revelation," has been by many, in most of its parts, passed over as a "sealed book." The system of interpretation here proposed, is not only easy and in harmony with the customary method of the word of God, but also in accordance with the principles of sober criticism. Had such principles been adhered to, during the storm of error which has swept over many towns in New England within the last three years, many churches and individuals would have maintained their steadfastness, religion would have been more honored, and the revolting exhibitions of a heresy, drawing after it still other disgusting heresies, would have been prevented. But while this Commentary would have been more timely a few months ago, it is by no means out of date even now. The principles of interpretation which it advocates are universally applicable to the word of God. And the encouragement which it ministers in respect to the final state of the church's prosperity is the balm of life, which can sustain the servant of God, as he goes forth to toil among the distant heathen.

2. *Cruden's Complete Concordance of the Holy Scriptures.* A new and condensed edition. By DAVID KING, LL. D. 568 pp. 8vo. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1845.

This volume contains all the matter in Cruden's Concordance, the most valuable English Concordance extant, except that it omits the definitions of terms, which rendered it a Bible Dictionary, as well as a Concordance, and is, in many cases, a more judicious and thorough condensation of the citations. The unique and entertaining life of Cruden, which ordinarily appears with this, his great work, is left out; but as a substitute, we have a short Introduction, by the Editor, of some historical merit. To a Biblical student, few books are more useful than his Concordance. We rejoice, therefore, in the republication of so important a work, in a neat form, and at a low price. Several Concordances have, at different times, appeared. The first English Concordance, we are informed by the Introduction, was on the New Testament, by Thomas Gybson, a printer, London, 1535, nine years after the publication of Tyndale's New Testament. The first English Concordance of the whole Bible was by John Marbeck, organist of Windsor College, in the reign of Henry VIII, 1550, folio. This John Marbeck, or "Jhon Marbek," was the person who undertook to write out for himself a copy of the Bible (Matthews'), being too poor to purchase one. He had finished the Pentateuch, and commenced the book of Joshua, when his friend, master Turner, suddenly stealing upon him, rallied him upon his vain and tedious work, saying, "But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a Concordance in English." Seizing the idea, he set about the work and completed it. Robert F. Herrey's Concordance to the Geneva Bible was published in London, 1578, and often afterwards. Cruden's Concordance was first issued in London in 1736,

and has since been frequently abridged and reprinted. It is an interesting fact, that this most laborious work was composed by a man suffering under mental derangement, and in the intervals of time, snatched from the toil of reading proofs for a London daily newspaper, which kept him from his bed till one or two o'clock every morning. This detracts nothing, however, from the value of the work. The talent necessary to form a Concordance is not like that which is required for a literary production of high order, or for a work demanding an accurate judgment and a nice taste. Lofty genius and extensive learning here give place to patient industry, and a willingness to labor without the prospect of any adequate remuneration. And besides, a man who is subject to a monomania, as was the case with Mr. Cruden, may not be in the least degree unfitted for any work in which the disordered point of his intellect is not touched. Many facts might be adduced to show that monomaniacs, instead of being rendered incompetent to the exercise of their faculties in other directions, are, on the contrary, elevated, apparently, to the highest efforts of genius, and the most enthusiastic exercise of the intellectual powers.

We embrace the present opportunity to say a word on the advantages of studying the Scriptures with the aid of a good Concordance. Both ministers, Sabbath school teachers and private Christians may be appropriately addressed on this point. This is the true method which the divines of a former age so often recommended,—studying the Scripture in such a way as to make the Bible its own interpreter. There are many things, it is true, in respect to the explanation of the word of God, for which we must depend upon extraneous sources. Antiquities, archæology, and geography, are taught but sparingly, often in an indistinct manner, and with many interruptions, in the Bible itself. We need to have the scattered rays of light gathered together in a single work of moderate compass, and presented in a consecutive order. A small volume, which performs for us this service, is of incalculable worth in directing our attention to facts and circumstances of an interesting nature, which might otherwise escape our attention. Much, too, deserves to be said of the value of systems of theology, digested and arranged by clear heads and cultivated minds, imbued with a spirit of evangelical piety. But after all, we feel that men too often gather their creed from system-makers, rather than from the inspired word. The Bible is called in to defend their system, instead of being the father of it. To change the figure, they first build their superstructure, and then look after the foundation. Forgetting the scriptural maxim,—comparing spiritual things with spiritual,—one part of the word of God with other parts of the word of God,—they rather compare the word of God with their system, and force it to speak in their own defence. The habit of studying the word of God with the aid of a Concordance, and, for a season, wholly disjoined from other helps,—especially in the case of persons who have already acquired a tolerable competency for such an employment,—we firmly believe, would be the means of giving a warmth to their piety, a scripturalness to their views, and a devotionality to their hearts. Communion with God in his word, while the mind is withdrawn from communion with men and with the teachings of men, cannot be otherwise than salutary. Happy will be the day, when our pulpits, our Sabbath schools, and our academies of theology shall be brought still more fully under the influence of a such a habit.

The publishers have done a good service to Biblical students by this

fair reprint. We hope the low rate at which it is sold will exclude from the market the inferior works of the same class, such as Brown and Butterworth, which are too defective to be regarded with the least favor.

3. *Brevi Linguae Chaldaicae Grammatica*, etc. Scripsit JUL. HENR. PETERMANN, Doct. et Prof. extraord. in Universitate Berolinensi. 1841. *Grammatik des biblischen, und targumischen Chaldaismus*, etc.,—bearbeitet von DR. GEORG B. WINER, Königl. Kirchenatthe und Professor der Theologie, etc. *Grammar of the Chaldee Language as contained in the Bible and the Targums, etc. Second and completely revised edition.* Leipzig, 1842.

Dr. Petermann, the author of the first named of these grammars, is well known in Germany, as a diligent and able oriental scholar. He is accustomed to lecture in the University at Berlin on the whole circle of the Semitic languages, and has produced several works, before the present, in this field of study, which have procured him a high reputation. Under the title of *Porta Linguarum orientalium*, he has announced his intention to prepare a series of elementary grammars on the Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, Æthiopic, Armenian, Persian, etc.; and this purpose he has already executed so far as regards the Arabic and Chaldee, and ere this, in all probability, as regards also some of the other proposed dialects. His aim is to condense in each case, as much as possible, the contents of these grammars, and to confine himself to a notice merely of such points as are absolutely indispensable to the beginner at the very threshold of his studies. They are designed to be used more particularly in connection with lectures; and with the fuller explanations and more copious instruction which the student could thus obtain, they would undoubtedly serve as a very convenient help to his more private labors. But under other circumstances, their extreme brevity, as it appears in the present number of the work, must prove a serious defect. The learner could not master with such aid as they furnish the most ordinary difficulties which his reading would present. How far the author has carried this peculiarity of his plan, may be inferred from the fact that the little volume before us—a 16mo. of less than 100 pages—contains not only a grammar of the Chaldee, but an outline of Chaldee literature, a Chrestomathy, consisting of extracts from the Targums, and a Glossary at the end of the whole. It is impossible that even the general principles and usages of a language should be so far recognized in a work of such dimensions, that any thing more than the purposes of a very general introduction can be accomplished by it.

As a practical grammar of the Chaldee language, that of Dr. Winer is undoubtedly the best which can be placed in the hands of the student. The first edition of this work was published in 1824; and it is this, for substance, which was translated by Mr. Riggs, and printed at Andover in 1832. The grammar here offered to the public, which appeared in Germany in 1842, has undergone a complete revision, and may be considered as essentially a new production. In the interval between the two editions, the most important works of Gesenius in Hebrew and Chaldee literature, those also of Ewald, Fürst and others, have made their appearance; and the materials for a scientific treatment of Chaldee grammar have thus been rendered far more complete than at any former time.

mer period. All that is truly valuable, and at the same time pertinent to the subject, which the labors of these distinguished scholars have produced, the author has faithfully appropriated in this new edition; while he has added to them the results of his own maturer, and more extended studies in this department of philology, since the publication of his first more elementary treatise. The introduction, on the subject of the Chaldee language and literature, will be found to be almost entirely new; the various topics successively introduced are discussed with far greater fullness and precision; the survey, both of the general facts and of the more infrequent phenomena of the language, is more minute, and authenticated by a much greater variety of references and examples; while the Syntax, which was almost wholly wanting in the first edition, has here been re-written and brought at least to as perfect a state as the same division of Hebrew grammar in the ablest works which treat of that language.

On the importance of a knowledge of the Chaldee to the theological student, it is unnecessary to offer any remark. No enterprising scholar, after having laid a foundation for the successful study of it in a knowledge of the Hebrew, will be willing to remain ignorant of this kindred language which so little additional labor will enable him to add to the stock of his acquisitions. It ought to be a sufficient inducement to this, that a portion of the word of God, which we can never otherwise fully understand, is contained in it; and also that, in all probability, the Saviour himself, when on earth, discoursed with men in this, or a very similar dialect, and through it conveyed to them their first knowledge of the truths of the Christian revelation. It may be added, too, that not a few of those peculiarities which distinguish the Greek of the New Testament are decidedly Aramaean rather than Hebrew, and can be fully appreciated only when one has a knowledge of the source from which they have sprung.

H.

II. CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

4. *Latin Lessons and Reader, with Exercises for the Writing of Latin.* Introductory to Andrews' & Stoddard's Latin Grammar, and also to Nepos and Cæsar, and Krebs' Guide. By ALLEN H. WELD, A. M. Second edition, enlarged. Andover. Allen, Morrill & Wardwell. 1845. 231 pp. 16mo.

Every work is acceptable whose object is to secure the systematic and thorough training of the youthful scholar in the elements of classical learning. One of the mistakes of former times, in teaching grammar, both Latin and English, consisted in the severity of the task imposed on the learner, of committing, reviewing, and re-reviewing his Accidence, definitions, rules, observations, exceptions, and paradigms, before he was permitted to make the least practical use of his knowledge, or, in many cases, to understand its bearing, except in a most indistinct manner, on his future eminence as a classical scholar. We speak especially here of very young pupils, and not of those in advancing manhood, who, by a far more injurious method, hurry and have hurried from a mere cursory reading of the grammar, into an attempt to comprehend and translate Virgil or Cicero;—an awkward process, which reminds us of a system of machinery, moved by the interlocking of wheels and cogs, but of which one is vainly endeavoring to produce motion in the latter wheels, while three or four of the earlier wheels properly lying near the primary

motive power are wanting. Such a process forbids men to be accurate and ripe scholars. But to return to the young student,—any thing is valuable which is calculated to make him feel that his acquisitions are immediately useful; that they are a part of the system by which he is to feel his way into the broad field of classic wealth and genius. Such is the object of the present work. As the scholar proceeds in his grammar, he is here furnished with exercises on every principle and rule, which he is required to construct and re-construct from Latin into English, from English into Latin, and to analyze them in such variations as are likely to occur. The plan is highly judicious, and is adapted to impart to the pupil a thorough command of all the knowledge he acquires in his progress from day to day. Part second contains a short Chrestomathy, illustrating, from the usage of the best writers, the several rules of syntax, and a vocabulary. The recent apparatus for the elementary study of Latin is now very complete, and indicates an immense advancement in the theory of instruction. The little work of Mr. Weld is an honor to his knowledge of his subject, and to his skill in communicating that knowledge to others. We are happy to learn that some of the schools have adopted it, as a part of their course. Its influence, if it could be brought into general use, would be greatly to diminish the labor both of college students and college officers, to make thorough classical scholars, minutely familiar with the elements of the Latin tongue, and to open the way for a more honorable standard of attainment in this department among our literary men.

III. GENERAL LITERATURE.

5. *History of Germany, from the earliest Period to the present Time.*
By FREDERICK KOHLRAUSCH. Translated from the German by JAMES D. HAAS. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Boston: Redding & Co. 1845.

The work named in the foregoing title is one of the valuable publications of recent English books, that make up the series of Appleton's Historical Library. No better volume could have been selected for such a library. Not only has the work itself merit, even to such a degree as to be the most popular manual in the German schools, but it fills a chasm that has long been painfully felt in English literature. A clear and interesting outline of German history was not to be found in our language, till this translation appeared. The literary execution is very good, and the mechanical far better than is common in the class of cheap publications to which it belongs.

A dark cloud of ignorance has hitherto hung over the popular mind in this country in regard to the states that once composed the German empire. It is pleasing to be able to trace, as we now can, the progress of those rude and hardy tribes which constituted the bone and sinews of the old empire,—the Franks, the Saxons, the Suabians, and the Bavarians; and to see in the struggles of each for ascendancy over the others, and even in their misfortunes, the origin of such great political powers as Prussia and Austria. In the old Saxon tribe, we find, near the north bend of the Elbe, a Mark, or military colony for the defence of the eastern frontier of the empire. On the dissolution of the Saxon dutchy, the Mark spreads eastward, and embraces Brandenburg, and assumes that name. As it rises in power, it is divided into provinces; that which was the nucleus of the state on the Elbe, is called the Old

Mark; the last acquisition of territory made on the east, wrested from the savage Wends, is called the East Mark; the intervening district, conquered a little before, is the Middle Mark; and the north-eastern extremity, once occupied by the *Ukri*, is called the Ucker Mark. About the time of the Reformation, the territory which had long been held by the Teutonic knights, under a government half ecclesiastical and half military, fell into the hands of the Brandenburg family. This district, at the mouth of the Vistula, was called Prussia; and that name has gradually been extended to other parts of the kingdom, till it has come to be applied to all the Brandenburg possessions. In 1701, Frederic I raised the duchy of Prussia to a kingdom. But, strictly speaking, only the territory which originally belonged to the Teutonic knights, was raised to the dignity of a kingdom; the larger part of the country was still the Mark of Brandenburg. The monarch was properly king of Prussia, a small territory at the mouth of the Vistula, margrave and elector of Brandenburg, the principal territory, and prince of several smaller possessions in the south and west of Germany. The third Prussian king was Frederic the Great, who, in the seven years' war, added Silesia and a part of Poland to his dominions, and thereby established a northern power, to counterbalance the Austrian, and put Prussia in that imposing attitude towards the other states of Europe, which it has maintained, with increasing vigor, to the present time. In the desperate effort for continued existence, made in the period intervening between 1806 and 1815, the Prussian character was invigorated, and the body politic renewed with young and fresh blood, which renders it, at this time, the first of the German states in energy and in influence, though nominally holding but a second rank.

Austria was, at first, but a small tract of land about Vienna, and was originally the eastern Mark of Bavaria; and hence its name, *Austria*, which means the eastern part of the kingdom. In the feud between the Guelphs and the Hohenstaufens, Bavaria was taken from the Guelph, who was then duke, and conferred upon the margrave of Austria, which was then but a Bavarian dependency. When a reconciliation was effected between the two hostile ducal families, and Bavaria was restored to the Guelphs, reparation was made to the margrave of Austria for the surrender of his newly acquired territories, by conferring unexampled privileges upon Austria. These almost imperial immunities caused the duchy of Austria to flourish more than any other part of Germany. Vienna then sprang up on the banks of the Danube. Thirty years after (1186), the district on the river Steier was added, under the name of Steiermark. When the duchy of Suabia was broken up, on the downfall of the Hohenstaufens, the emperor, who was an Austrian, recovered the remains so far as the disorders of the times would allow, and these patches of territory, running across the south of Germany, from Austria proper to the Rhine, and even beyond, greatly increased the imperial power. In the fourteenth century, Carinthia and the Tyrol were acquired. In the next century, the imperial dignity became hereditary in the house of Austria, which now was in possession of Bohemia and Hungary. Thus rose from the smallest beginnings, and as if by accident, the leading state in the German confederation.

But we must not go into the discussion of the subjects presented in the volume before us. We regard the work of Kohlrausch as almost indispensable to American readers, and as furnishing an important key to much of the history of other countries of modern Europe. s.

6. *The History of the Consulate and Empire under Napoleon.* By M. A. THIERS. Translated from the French by D. F. CAMPBELL and H. W. HERBERT, with notes and additions. Boston. Redding & Co. 1845.

Of the price of this work, which is but one dollar and twenty-five cents for the ten parts, or double that sum for the finer edition, no one can complain. The paper and type are quite as good as one could reasonably expect. From the cover of the second number, we learn that the translation is made by Campbell, and the notes prepared by Herbert. We have not been able to compare the translation with the original; but nothing occurs in the course of the first two numbers which so disturbs the sense as to lead to the suspicion that the version is unfaithful. The English is tolerably easy and flowing, though we are not unfrequently offended with Gallicisms. A little more independence in the translation of idiomatic expressions, and a good deal more care not to give French titles to men of all nations, would have added to one's pleasure in reading this otherwise attractive work. The notes are evidently from an abler hand than the translation. They are mostly biographical, drawn from a variety of sources, but chiefly from the *Biographie Moderne*, the various histories of the French revolution, and works on Napoleon. It is, indeed, easy to write such notes; but when, as in the present case, they are selected with judgment, and accompanied with occasional remarks from one so well-qualified to speak as Mr. Herbert is, they are particularly valuable to the ordinary American reader. If we consider that this is a cheap publication, designed for the community at large, perhaps we shall find no reason to complain that so many familiar characters are described as if they were unknown.

It is well to have the history of such a period as that of the Revolution, and of the Consulate and Empire, from able writers, who contemplate it from different points of view. Three men, from the three most important countries of Europe, all possessing high qualifications for such an undertaking, have recently given us the results of many years' study and reflection on the subject, Alison, Thiers and Wachsmuth. It is true that they are not free from national prejudices; but then these prejudices often neutralize each other; and, as the facilities of the several authors for obtaining information were different, extending frequently to different matters, the reader is the gainer for this variety in the points of observation. What foreigner could unfold the state policy of France, like the ex-minister? The very fact that he has been minister in the same country, and in a period so connected with the Revolution, has given him a practised eye and a tact in matters in regard to the internal policy of the state, which another could not so well attain. How clear and how brilliant, for example, is the account given by Thiers of the financial system of Napoleon on assuming the reins of government! Indeed, this author has furnished us many admirable and truthful pictures of the policy of "the man of destiny," and of the character of the French Count, and of political parties, for which we should look in vain elsewhere. Thiers has given the *rationale* of the machinery of the government and of its operation. He often furnishes us with an important clue, by which we can thread the labyrinth of the confused and conflicting accounts of other writers. He is also exceedingly clear in his statements, and graphic in his descriptions. But for a full view of the details of the history, the reader must resort to other

works. Thiers is most valuable to one who is already well acquainted with the general subject, and who needs a master to help him sum up the results, and to take a full survey of the whole scene, from some commanding point of view. The national prejudices of the writer, which often appear, are, for the most part, justly noticed by Herbert in his notes. Of the political character of Thiers, we cannot here speak ; nor is it necessary.

We may take another occasion to acquaint our readers with the character and value of Wachsmuth's work, which is the result of immense research, each successive volume of which (three are already published) is looked for by the learned with impatience, as it comes from the press. Wachsmuth is a historian by profession, and has peculiar qualifications, very different in kind from those of the French minister. If but one writer on the subject could be consulted, it is our impression that Wachsmuth would take the precedence. He has not, indeed, the fine optics in matters of state, and the dramatic power of Thiers, nor the warm oratorical glow of Alison ; but he has more comprehensiveness, more universal knowledge of man and of the institutions of society, and more moral dignity, than the former ; and a much more complete knowledge of the historical facts of the many-sided Revolution, a more elevated and philosophical standard of judgment, and a far stronger sense of historical justice, than the latter. s.

7. *Orthophony: or Vocal Culture in Elocution.* A Manual of Elementary Exercises, adapted to Dr. Rush's "Philosophy of the Human Voice." By JAMES E. MURDOCH and WILLIAM RUSSELL. Boston. William D. Ticknor & Co. pp. 336, 12mo. 1845.

A Practical Manual of Elocution, embracing Voice and Gesture. By MERRITT CALDWELL, A. M. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. pp. 331, 12mo. 1845.

It is of the first importance that, in a country like our own, the gift of public speaking should be cultivated in the most efficient manner ; and yet no part of a literary and professional education is, on the whole, less regarded. The instruction given in this department is often of the most meagre character, and imparted by those who, whatever skill they may have in teaching in other departments of education, are wholly incompetent to the task in this. The maxim concerning the poet, "*nascitur, non fit,*" seems to be abundantly applicable to the orator, so rare is it that persons who are not naturally elegant speakers, become such by the force of instruction. Yet there is no reason why the faculty of speech should not be cultivated, as much as any other. We have no faculty which is not capable of improvement. There is no more mystery in teaching a pupil to speak on various keys, than in teaching him to modulate his voice in singing, pitching his voice on a higher or lower note. There is no more secret in the art of speaking on the same key, with a greater or less volume of sound, than in the art of singing the same note with a gentler or a stronger impulse of the voice. The directions in many of the old books, professing to teach the art of reading or the art of oratory, are obviously defective. They could only render young men stiff, artificial and disagreeable. But we are happy that a better period has dawned upon the world. Happy are the young scholars who live under its influence, and who profit by its advantages. The first of the two works above quoted is strictly a

work designed to teach the education of the voice. It is adapted, first, "to young learners, whose habits of utterance are as yet forming, and, secondly, to adults, whose professional duties involve the exercise of public speaking." It is accompanied by engravings, showing the organs of respiration and of speech. It is a judicious and valuable manual, worthy of the reputation of the two gentlemen who have become so highly distinguished in this department.

The other work passes, in part, over the same ground as the first. The directions concerning the use of the voice are according to the most approved modern rules; and, as a system of instruction, they may be safely followed. One hundred pages of the work are allotted to the subject of gesture,—an expense of space and patience which seems to us excessive. Few who attempt to be governed by such rules can rise above the rank of unfeeling and formal speakers,—a greater evil in the pulpit than at the bar. Few, in moments when such rules are suitable to be drawn into practice, would be likely to remember them; and still fewer to practise them. True emotion, such as ought to inflame the heart of every public speaker, will find its own forms of utterance, without being bound to rules. The moment you undertake to control it, it becomes unmanageable and awkward. Some general truths in regard to gesture, every one can learn of nature herself, and, having learned them, he will use them wisely. But we are not gratified to see young pupils directed how to look, and what motion to communicate to the foot or the hand, under given circumstances. Where the heart is warm, or where the intellect glows under its subject, we believe this will regulate itself. Several wood engravings exhibit, in the course of the work, the various attitudes of a public speaker. For the first two-thirds of the book we anticipate a career of usefulness. The last part will probably do very little good to any one who undertakes to study it.

ARTICLE X.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

The Baptist General Convention for Foreign Missions.—The Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Board was held at Providence, R. I., April 30, 1845. The receipts of the treasury for the financial year ending April 1st, 1845, have been as follows:—From legacies and donations by individuals, churches and auxiliary societies, \$71,876.20; from the general government and other societies, \$10,400; from Missionary Magazine, \$26.75. Of this sum, the American Tract Society gave \$2500; the American and Foreign Bible Society, \$3500; the United States government, \$4400. Expenditures, \$94,785.28; excess of expenditures above receipts, \$12,482.33; debt at the close of last year, \$27,706, 16; present debt, \$40,188.40. Of the Missionary Magazine there are circulated 6000 copies; of the Boston edition of the Macedonian, 18,000; of the western edition, between 5000 and 6000.

The number of missions under the direction of the Board is seventeen; of these, seven have been to the Indian tribes of North America; three are in Europe; one to the Bassas in West Africa; and seven in Asia. The missions in North America are to the Ojibwas, Ottawas, Tonawandas, Shawanoes, Cherokees, Creeks and

Choctaws. The mission to the Choctaws is about to be transferred to the Indian Mission Association, on account of the inability of the Board to meet the increased expense necessary to its extension, and highest prosperity. The whole number of Indian missions now under the direction of the Board, is 6, embracing 14 stations and 7 out-stations; 29 missionaries and assistants, of whom 10 are preachers and 2 printers; 9 native assistants; 15 churches with 1559 members,—110 baptized the past year; and 10 schools with 300 pupils. A revised translation of Mark and Luke into Ojibwa has been completed by Mr. Cameron. Of the Ottawas it is said, that the whole Indian settlement have renounced their superstitions, and unite in the stated worship of God. The Indians not included in the colony are advancing in civilization, and have resolved to "conform to the customs of the white people." Among the Cherokees, it is said that the schools are well conducted and prosperous. The printing operations are efficient, and regarded by the Cherokees with deep and universal interest. A monthly periodical is printed (the Cherokee Messenger), containing translations of parts of the Bible, Pilgrim's Progress, etc. Several tracts are in preparation. The European missions are in France, Germany, Denmark, and Greece. They include 3 missions, with 21 stations and 34 out-stations; 4 preachers and 5 female assistants; 28 native preachers and assistants; 28 churches; 123 baptisms reported; whole number of church members about 900; 1 school of 50 pupils. The German mission extends its operations into Norway, Denmark, and Holland. Persecution continues in Denmark and Hanover, but is less virulent than formerly. In the Greek mission, the Elements of Moral Science have been completed, and put to press in an edition of 2000 copies. A revision has been commenced of Bambas's translation of the New Testament. No public preaching is yet attempted in Greek, but religious instruction is sedulously given in Bible classes, private conversation, etc. In the mission in West Africa are 2 stations and 1 out-station; 2 preachers, 1 assistant, 2 female assistants, and 2 native assistants. Much labor is given to preaching among the native villages, and the influence of the mission is steadily on the increase. The missions in Asia are seven: Maulmain, Tavoy, Arracan, Siam, China, Assam and the Teloogoo; including of stations and out-stations, 51; missionaries and assistants, 66; native assistants, 84; churches, 34; baptisms, 2360; members, 2257,—not including churches near Rangoon, and exclusive of 1550 baptized in Burmah Proper, and not known to be organized into churches; schools, 42; scholars, about 1000. At Maulmain, the Burmese theological school was re-opened in June. The revision of the Epistles in Peguan is completed. The printing in 1843 was limited to 4200 copies, or 146,000 pages. Total of pages printed at the Maulmain mission press, 60,890,900. The issues were 11,516 copies, or 798,774 pages. The contributions of the Maulmain Missionary Society have amounted to nearly \$2000. An attempt has been recently made to recommence operations in Burmah Proper, at Rangoon; with what success, we are not definitely informed. At Tavoy, the additions to the churches have been almost exclusively from the Karen, with the exception of the Selongs, a people resembling the Karen, and residing on the islands in the Mergui archipelago. They have been visited repeatedly, and a church constituted, now consisting of 29 members, who a year or two ago were in the lowest heathenism. The schools are in usual progress. The one under the care of Mr. Bennett has about 75 pupils, the theological school 10 or 12. The printing in 1843 amounted to 10,668 copies, or 1,564,096 pages, including the New Testament completed, and a second edition of the memoir of Ko Thah Byu. The contributions of the Tavoy Missionary Society have been about \$300. In Siam, public religious services have been conducted, as heretofore, both in Siamese and Chinese, and extensive tours have been made for preaching and tract distribution; 18,107 Siamese tracts and portions of Scripture have been circulated, and 5744 copies, or 370,228 pages in Chinese. The writings of John and Jude, in Chinese, have been revised by Mr. Goddard; 7500 copies of Scriptures and tracts, or 331,000 pages, have been printed in Siamese, and 5300 copies, or 170,600 pages of Chinese tracts. A new fount of Siamese type of reduced size has been cast, and another of the large size nearly completed. The New Testament in Assamese has been translated as far as the 1st of Corinthians.

The whole number of missions in connection with the Board is 17; stations and out-stations, 130; missionaries and assistant missionaries, 109, of whom 42 are preachers; native preachers and assistants, 123; churches, 79; baptisms reported, 2593; church members, more than 5000; whole number baptized and now living, about 7000; schools, 56; scholars, about 1350. Two preachers and 4 female assistants have joined the missions during the year; and 3 preachers and 4 female assistants have been removed by death.

The American Baptist Home Mission Society held its thirteenth anniversary in Providence, April 29. By the Treasurer's Report, it appears that the expenditures have been \$13,857,62; receipts, \$18,675,68; receipts of State Conventions, \$30,625,21; leaving a balance in the Treasury of \$5,736,49. The amount received into the treasury of the General Society is \$5,273,92 more than last year; the amount received by auxiliaries is \$7,784,55 less than last year. The operations of the Society have been extended over eighteen States of the Union, besides stations occupied in Texas and Canada. The valley of the Mississippi, however, is the principal theatre of its action. The number of missionaries employed is 99; churches constituted, 51; in connection with which, 32 ministers have been ordained. Members added by baptism, 818. Sunday schools established, 145, comprising 3910 pupils. Houses of worship completed, 7. In addition to these results, auxiliary Societies, in different States, have employed 260 missionaries and agents, whose labors jointly have been equal to the labor of one man 138 years; 1435 persons have been received to church membership by baptism; 18 new churches organized, and 15 ministers ordained. The labors of the Society during the past year have been considerably more extensive than during any previous one of its existence.

The American and Foreign Bible Society held its eighth anniversary at the same place. The donations to the treasury amounted to \$27,677,15; the payments for Scriptures to \$6,885,50; making the total receipts for the depository year, \$34,562,70; volumes issued, 26,239, valued at \$9,483,27; 90 new auxiliaries were recognized during the last year, and 25 life-directors and 285 life-members have been enrolled, more than double the number of the preceding year. Four travelling agents have been employed during the whole year, and several others, a part of it. The receipts are larger than in the year preceding by more than \$11,000. Since the formation of the Society, it has devoted \$131,342 to the foreign distribution of the Scriptures, and \$49,743 to the home supply. The publications of the year have been more than double those of any previous year, amounting to 53,546 Bibles and Testaments, and an aggregate since the Society commenced the work of home supply, of 132,751 volumes of the divine word. The amount appropriated to foreign distribution during the year is about \$11,000; there is a reasonable prospect that the amount will be doubled the next year. The efforts of the Society to obtain a charter from the New York Legislature have again met a defeat.

The American Baptist Publication Society held its sixth anniversary at the same place. The total receipts have been \$20,803,78; expenditures, \$20,785,24; leaving a balance on hand of \$18,34. Ten tracts have been added to the Society's publications, making the series 170, of which they have published 322,241 copies, including 4,230,255 pages, most of which have been circulated gratuitously. They have circulated 143,809 bound volumes, of which 39,858 are of the publications of the Society, and 103,951 were purchased from other publishers; 10,000 copies of the Almanac and Baptist Register have also been circulated. In the colporteur system of this Society, the agents are generally travelling preachers. They are furnished with books at a discount, which they are to sell, receiving a small profit. The Society is now engaged in publishing a new and improved edition of the "Complete Works of Andrew Fuller."

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICA.

A New and Complete History of Romanism, including a copious history of the Latin Church, in its rise, progress and present state, and notices of the most distinguished pontiffs and important councils,—drawn from the most credible sources, Catholic and Protestant, by Rev. John Dowling, of New York, is announced as forthcoming. It is to be an 8vo., of about 600 pages, with forty or fifty engravings.—Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, of Boston, are about to issue "The Broken Vow, and other Poems," by Mrs. A. M. C. Edmond, with six steel engravings.

ENGLAND.

Lord Brougham is engaged in preparing a Life of Voltaire in English and French, which is to be issued simultaneously in each of those languages, in London and Paris. The same author is preparing a Life of the Men of Science and Letters in the Reign of George III, embracing Hume, Voltaire, Robertson, Davy, Black, Cavendish, Rousseau, Priestley, La Place, Watt, and others.

The following is the number of works that were issued in England during the last year. They furnish ground for a comparative table rich in instruction;

Theology and religious works, 604; History, Biography and Genealogy, 187; Geography, Voyages and Travels, 212; Natural Science, 157; Medicine, 142; Jurisprudence, 92; Poetry and the Fine Arts, including Architecture, 320; Classics, Logic, Dictionaries and Education generally, 220; Miscellaneous, 273; Fiction, 360; Political works, 158. Total 2725.

ITALY.

It is announced that the Cavaliere Inghirami's History of Tuscany has been brought to a close, in 14 octavo volumes. It has been the author's favorite work for several years, and is printed and published at his own press. Possessed of immense materials, Inghirami is said to have produced the best work which the nature of the case admits; though it is inferior to his celebrated book on "Etruscan Antiquities." Further evidences of the reviving spirit of literature, and especially of historical literature in Italy, are found in the project of an association of gentlemen at Naples, with the tacit sanction of the government, to print the more important diplomata of the Lombard period, which remain in the Archives of Lower Italy. At Rome, proposals have been made to republish "Muratori's Scriptores Rerum Italicarum;" the plan, however, has been relinquished for the present, because the principal coadjutors, preferring to undertake a fresh work rather than to reprint an old one with which many are already familiar, have resolved to prepare a municipal history of the peninsula and the papal Censi Camerali, furnishing a rich field for investigations into the political economy of central Italy.

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

L. D. BARKER, McConnelsville, O., March 30.	JOHN W. HEISTAND, Blacklick, O., March 20.
SYLVANUS BOARDMAN, New Sharon, Me., March 16, aged 57.	WILLIAM IRWIN, Shiloh, Morgan Co., Ala., Jan. 25.
WILLIAM T. BRANTLY, D. D., Augusta, Ga., March 28, aged 58.	ERASTUS F. MAIN, West Walworth, Wayne Co., N. Y., Feb. 19.
A. H. BURLINGAME, Pittsford, Mon. Co., N. Y., Feb. 10, aged 32.	ANDREW D. MILNE, Bolton, Warren Co., N. Y., Feb. 13.
LEWIS CHAUDOIN, Goochland Co., Va., Jan. 4, aged 90.	DANIEL W. SHERWOOD, Patterson, Duchess Co., N. Y., Oct. 23.
MICHAEL COLBY, Sardinia, Erie Co., N. Y., Feb. 23, aged 43.	GEORGE V. TEN BROOK, Niles, Mich., Mar. 30.
DAVID COX, Sardis, Stewart Co., Ga., Dec. 31.	JOHN G. TUNISON, Bellville, O., April 30.
MAREEN DUVAL, Stamping Ground, Ky., Jan.	WILLIAM H. VARDEMAN, Illinois, Jan. 11.
ORSON G. FOSTER (licentiate), near Claiborne, Ala., March 21, aged 27.	J. W. WIGGIN, Benton Centre, Yates Co., N. Y., Feb. 26.
PHILANDER D. GILLETTE, Fairport, Chemung Co., N. Y., March 29, aged 49.	ZENAS P. WILD, Unionville, Mass., March 20.
DENNIS HAYS (licentiate), Panton, Vt., Feb. 28, aged 37.	—
WILLIAM GEORGE MILLER, Brooklyn, L. I., April 13.	CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.
JOHN NETHERTON (licentiate), Henry Co., Ky., Jan. 2, aged 70.	Jackson, Luzerne Co., Pa., Dec. 18.
JOSIAH OSBORN, Logan Co., O., Jan. 4, aged 94.	Minden, Claiborne Par., La., Dec. 20.
JOSHUA PHILLIPS, Berlin, Erie Co., O., March 21, aged 60.	Indianapolis, Ind., 2d chh. Jan.
ORRIN WITHERELL, Weathersfield, Ill., Jan. 13, aged 36.	Pine Bluff, Drury Set., Ill., Feb. 2.
ALEXANDER WRIGHT, Logan Co., O., March 10, aged 29.	Mt. Palatine, Putnam Co., Ill., Feb. 9.

ORDINATIONS.

B. M. ALDEN, West Winfield, Herk. Co., N. Y., March 26.	WASHINGTON, Tazewell Co., Ill., Jan. 1.
CHARLES J. BOWLES, Seneca, Seneca Co., O., April 18.	Acworth, N. H., Jan. 15.
NIMROD BURWELL, Vienna, O., Jan. 29.	Lincklaen, Chen. Co., N. Y., March 20.
C. C. CLARK, Pine Bluff chh., Drury Set., Ill., Feb. 2.	Unionville, Mass., March 20.
JOSIAH DURHAM, Philadelphia, Penn., Mar. 6.	Burlington, Vt., April 3.
B. A. EDWARDS, Grafton, Mass., March 19.	LYONS, Wayne Co., N. Y., April 8.
GEORGE FARR, Albany, N. Y., March 27.	Lansingburgh, N. Y., April 8.
	Warren, R. I., May 8.

DEDICATIONS.